

JPRS 79057

24 September 1981

# USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 1981



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

# USSR REPORT

## SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 1981

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE  
ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of  
Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

### CONTENTS

|                                                                                                                                  |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Increase the Theoretical Level and Practical Efficiency of the Social Sciences<br>(P. N. Fedoseyev) . . . . .                    | 1  |
| Study of the Social Structure of Soviet Society<br>(F. R. Filippov) . . . . .                                                    | 6  |
| The Main Results and Tasks of the Studies of Budgets of Time in the USSR<br>(V. D. Patrushev) . . . . .                          | 18 |
| On the Question of the Study of Anti-Soviet Propaganda Campaigns<br>(V. N. Ivanov) . . . . .                                     | 25 |
| Dialectics of the Interconnection of Social and Economic Factors in Planning*<br>(M. N. Rutkevich) . . . . .                     | 33 |
| Migration of the Population Between the City and the Village<br>(T. I. Zaslavskaya, L. V. Korel') . . . . .                      | 34 |
| The Correlation of Concepts and Variables in Sociological Research*<br>(G. S. Batygin) . . . . .                                 | 48 |
| The Combination of One-Man Management and Collectivity in the Management of<br>Socialist Production*<br>(F. M. Rudich) . . . . . | 48 |
| The Influence of the Dynamics of Labor on the Mobility of Manpower Resources<br>(D. I. Zyuzin) . . . . .                         | 49 |
| The Use of Social Information in Production Management*<br>(Yu. Ye. Duberman) . . . . .                                          | 58 |
| The Socio-Economic Effectiveness of Comprehensive Goal Programs*<br>(G. I. Mikerin, V. L. Tambovtsev) . . . . .                  | 58 |

---

\* Not translated by JPRS.

|                                                                                                                                        |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| On the Productive Labor of Adolescents<br>(A. I. Novikov) . . . . .                                                                    | 59 |
| Structure of the Free Time of the Population of Lenkoran': Socio-Occupational<br>and Age Differentiation*<br>(G. A. Zaikina) . . . . . | 65 |
| Changes in the Style of Life of the Families of Lenkoranskiy Rayon<br>(Ch. A. Mansimov) . . . . .                                      | 66 |
| Material Well-Being and Family Stability<br>(I. Yu. Rodzinskaya) . . . . .                                                             | 71 |
| Man--Road--Motor Vehicle*<br>(A. P. Nozdryakov) . . . . .                                                                              | 80 |
| Commuting of the Population to Work<br>(F. D. Zastavnyy) . . . . .                                                                     | 81 |
| The Attitude of Industrial Workers Toward Labor*<br>(A. Tasev) . . . . .                                                               | 84 |
| The Combination of Occupations at Motor Transport Enterprises*<br>(G. A. Kononova) . . . . .                                           | 84 |
| On the Intraplant Transfers of the Regular Labor Force*<br>(Zh. S. Trostanovskiy, A. N. Prus) . . . . .                                | 84 |
| Increasing the Return of Questionnaires in a Mail Survey*<br>(B. Z. Doktorov) . . . . .                                                | 84 |
| Some Methods of Improving the Mail Survey*<br>(V. I. Paniotto, Yu. I. Yakovenko) . . . . .                                             | 85 |
| The Use of Expert Evaluations in Sociological Research*<br>(V. V. Cherednichenko) . . . . .                                            | 85 |
| The Evolution of Youth Sociology in the United States*<br>(Ye. S. Barazgova) . . . . .                                                 | 85 |
| Youth Unemployment in the FRG*<br>(V. Ts. Khudaverdyan) . . . . .                                                                      | 85 |
| Sociological Research in India*<br>(V. Gaty) . . . . .                                                                                 | 85 |
| Problems and Prospects of the Development of the Austrian Family*<br>(K. A. Shchadilova) . . . . .                                     | 86 |
| Modern Trends in the Bourgeois Science of Management*<br>(D. M. Gvishiani) . . . . .                                                   | 86 |
| Social Psychological Conceptions of Production Management*<br>(E. D. Vil'khovchenko) . . . . .                                         | 86 |
| Social Factors of the Organization of Labor in the Taylor System*<br>(A. I. Kravchenko) . . . . .                                      | 86 |

---

\* Not translated by JPRS.



|                                                                                          |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| General Meeting of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences* | 86 |
| Ural Sociological Readings*                                                              |    |
| (L. N. Naumov)                                                                           | 87 |
| Discussion of the Main Directions of Demographic Policy                                  |    |
| (A. B. Sinel'nikov, L. S. Shilova)                                                       | 88 |
| Urgent Problems of the Development of Organizations*                                     |    |
| (B. V. Sazanov)                                                                          | 92 |
| News Items*                                                                              | 92 |
| Social Psychology: The Formation of a New Scientific Discipline*                         |    |
| (V. A. Yadov)                                                                            | 92 |
| Systems Approach in Marxist Theory, Methodology*                                         |    |
| (G. V. Osipov)                                                                           | 92 |
| Sociological Study of Respect of the Law*                                                |    |
| (A. A. Blagorazumnyy, N. Ya. Zablotskis, V. F. Statkus)                                  | 93 |
| Way of Life of Tiraspol' Garment Workers Described*                                      |    |
| (G. M. Vokhmentsova, N. N. Malikova)                                                     | 93 |
| Sociology of Organizations*                                                              |    |
| (N. A. Kurtikov, L. N. Suvorov)                                                          | 93 |
| Psychology of Verbal Communication*                                                      |    |
| (G. S. Semenov)                                                                          | 93 |
| Rediscovery of Marxism by Bourgeois Theoretical Thought*                                 |    |
| (G. K. Ashin, A. P. Milder)                                                              | 93 |
| Statistical Methods of Information Analysis*                                             |    |
| (B. Z. Doktorov)                                                                         | 94 |
| Systems Analysis of Sociological Information*                                            |    |
| (N. M. Blinov, V. A. Ponomarchuk)                                                        | 94 |
| Bookshelf of the Sociologist*                                                            | 94 |

---

\* Not translated by JPRS.

PUBLICATION DATA

English title : SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES, No 3, 1981

Russian title : SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : A. G. Kharchev

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo Nauka

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : August 1981

Signed to press : 10 July 1981

Copies : 8,489

COPYRIGHT : Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", "Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya", 1981

## THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE

### INCREASE THE THEORETICAL LEVEL AND PRACTICAL EFFICIENCY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 3-6

/Speech by Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The theoretical science conference of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Laws of the Social Development of Mature Socialism," was held on 14-15 April 1981. Academician A. G. Yegorov, Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ye. I. Kapustin, M. N. Rutkevich, T. V. Ryabushkin, V. N. Kudryavtsev, B. F. Lomov, M. T. Iovchuk and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yu. K. Pletnikov gave reports at the conference.

The opening speech of Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is published below.

The 26th CPSU Congress is of truly historical importance for the theory and practice of the building of communism and the world revolutionary movement. A detailed program of the economic and social development of our country during the 11th Five-Year Plan and the coming decade is given in the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and in the congress decisions.

We must thoroughly comprehend the materials of the congress, especially the content of the report of the Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and must draw fundamental conclusions from the abundance of ideas, which is contained in them. There are here questions of international relations, questions of the development of the world socialist system and, of course, especially the problems of mature socialist society and its development into communism.

In the report of L. I. Brezhnev the main features of the present international situation are distinguished with exceptional clarity. First of all there is the further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. The economic development of the bourgeois countries is taking place under the conditions of the decline of production, growing inflation and the increase of unemployment and social conflicts. Attempts at the regulation of the capitalist economy and social reforms, as a rule, end in failure, although with each year bourgeois sociologists and economists step up their activity in the field of "social therapy" and the apologetics of the capitalist system.

All the contradictions of imperialism, which are being aggravated by the class struggle of the proletariat, the national liberation movement and the ecological and energy crises, are intensifying. All this influences both the domestic and foreign policy of capitalism: the reactionary bourgeoisie is resorting more and more often to violent, terrorist methods of ensuring its domination and is more and more inclined to unbridled adventurism in its relations with the developing countries and the socialist states. At the same time this increase of the aggressiveness of capitalism to a certain extent is also a result of its powerlessness to reverse the course of world history.

The achievements of the countries of the socialist community, the strengthening of the positions of socialism and the national liberation movement, the increase of the might and prestige of our great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the great humanism of its peace-loving foreign policy, which is confirmed by the new peace initiatives of the Soviet state, are more clearly visible against the background of the intensifying general crisis of the capitalist system; the essence of this policy is reflected in the memorable words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "There is now no more important a task on the international level for our party, our people and for all the peoples of the planet than to fight for peace."

The imperialist circles, thinking with respect to other states and peoples only in the categories of domination and coercion and being at the same time incapable of imposing their will upon them, are stepping up the ideological sabotage against socialism, are organizing one campaign of misinformation and slander after another concerning "the violation of human rights in the USSR," "the Soviet military threat" and so on. However, in spite of this, and often contrary to this, the understanding of the fact that the Soviet Union is a sincere champion of the cooperation and friendship of peoples, while socialism is the only real alternative to the threat which imperialism is making on economic, social and cultural progress and the very existence of mankind, is increasing in world public opinion.

A serious scientific analysis of the sociopolitical and class changes which are now taking place in the world as a whole and in the capitalist countries in particular, is required of us. For it is impossible to consider the increase of the aggressiveness of imperialism and the intensification of the ideological attacks against the socialist countries and especially the Soviet Union to be a coincidence. Of course, this is connected with specific trends within the capitalist system.

On the one hand, we are seeing a shift to more reactionary stands of the ruling clique of capitalist society, for example, in the United States, England and Japan, and, on the other, the consolidation of the social class forces in the capitalist countries, where not only the communists are stepping up their activity, but many rank and file social democrats and laborites are showing increasing resistance to monopoly capital. You know what happened under the pressure of the masses in the Labor Party. For us it is important to analyze thoroughly the underlying social causes of these symptoms, which are disturbing to imperialism, and to step up the work on the scientific forecasting of the socio-economic and political changes in the modern world.

The 26th CPSU Congress set for us major tasks in the study of the processes occurring in the world socialist community, and it must be said that much that is new scientifically and theoretically is exceptionally important for us here. It is



unquestionable that the study of such questions as the peculiarities of the socialist revolutions, their dependence on concrete historical conditions, the dialectics of the general and the specific in the building of socialist society, the forms of cooperation and mutual assistance among the socialist countries and their relations with countries which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke is also of enormous interest for the practice of world socialism.

A very important direction of the scientific research work of philosophers, economists, sociologists and jurists is the careful, thorough analysis of the practical experience of every socialist country, the possibilities and means of its use by other members of the community.

The elaboration of fundamental problems of world policy, which face the socialist community, is of exceptional importance. Especially as the new features, which have appeared in this area, must be taken into account. It is impossible, in particular, to ignore the fact of the alliance of the Chinese clique with imperialism. It is necessary to understand and thoroughly study this situation, to determine what place China now occupies in the strategic plans of world imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, what the prospects of this sinister alliance are. All this requires the uniting of the efforts of the scientists working in the Department of Philosophy and Law with economists, historians and representatives of a number of other sciences.

The program of our conference includes a wide range of questions concerning the problems of mature socialism. I will not dwell on them in detail, I will merely say that it is now very important for us at the new stage to analyze the entire group of problems, the solution of which will enrich the theory of the building of communism and will promote the improvement of management and administration and the bringing of economic and social relations and organizational and educational work up to a new level, which corresponds to the current development of the productive forces and the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

Among these problems are the enhancement of the role of social factors in the solution of economic problems, the more complete utilization of the potentials of the socialist stimulation of labor, the improvement on this basis of socialist competition and the assurance of the systematic increase of efficiency and quality in all spheres of labor activity, including science.

The questions of the dialectics of the base and the superstructure, of spontaneity and deliberateness have been stated in many respects in a new way, especially since the adoption of the new Constitution, when the improvement of the legal system has been carried out on a broad front in conformity with the requirements of mature socialism.

I am no longer speaking about that group of problems which are connected with the fundamental theses of the report of L. I. Brezhnev--the class structure of Soviet society, the laws and prospects of overcoming--for the most part--the class differences. In light of the materials of the congress we should elaborate more thoroughly the problems of eliminating the substantial differences between the city and the countryside, between mental and physical labor.

In recent years the CPSU Central Committee has devoted serious attention to the elaboration and implementation of an effective demographic policy and to population problems which have now been aggravated. As the congress pointed out, the main means of solving them is the increase of the concern about the family, young couples and first of all women. The scientific studies of these problems should be closely connected with the solution of the questions of increasing the birth rate, improving the health of the population and educating young people. Here it is necessary to elaborate thoroughly and comprehensively the thesis of the congress, which is extremely important theoretically and practically, that the success of education is assured only when it rests on the firm basis of socio-economic policy.

The need specified by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress for the substantial broadening of the problems in the social sciences is increasing the importance of the planning, organization and coordination of scientific work. Especially as at the congress it was a question not only of the problems, which it is necessary to study, but also of increasing the theoretical scientific level, as well as the practical efficiency of research activity.

The opinion exists that a link with practice is mandatory only for the applied sciences. The 26th CPSU Congress showed the utter erroneousness of such views, having made the appeal for the efforts of "large-scale science," along with the elaboration of theoretical problems, to be concentrated more on research which is capable of making truly revolutionary changes in production. "Science," it is noted in the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "should be a constant 'disturber of the peace,' showing in what areas stagnation and backwardness have been noted, where the present level of knowledge makes it possible to advance more rapidly and successfully."

The solution of the problem concerning the fact that the study of a theme should not conclude only with especially theoretical conclusions (especially as these conclusions often are merely a repetition of what has already been repeatedly published), but should provide material for practical recommendations, requires the improvement of the entire system of scientific research. This system should be considerably more flexible and mobile and should not tolerate unproductive sectors, laboratories and groups. In its provision should also be made for such units which would ensure the operational testing and adoption of the recommendations of scientists and the transformation of this work into an integral part of the mechanism of administration.

Personnel problems should also be examined at the institutes with greater care and, where necessary, decisiveness. It is necessary to increase the efficiency of the system of the selection and training of young scientists and to rid oneself more boldly of the staff members who have held positions for years without yielding any scientific product. It has been noted that when some people work, while others only imitate working, both the moral and psychological climate of a scientific collective and, in the end, the results of research activity suffer. The collectives with such a diverse composition more often discuss anonymous letters and other false reports than the scientific product.

The drive for the efficiency and quality of scientific research presumes increased attention to the elaboration of methodological and procedural problems. Evidently, it is better to elaborate these problems in the process of studying specific social objects, without burdening institutes with special "methodological" and "methods"

sectors which are not, as a rule, of appreciable benefit, because methodology and methods are not the mechanical use of ready-made principles which are suitable for all occasions of life, but are a search, being based on Marxist-Leninist dialectics, the optimum means of knowing precisely this object.

The main thing, to which the 26th CPSU Congress calls us, is the organization of all theoretical scientific work with allowance made for the needs of life and the instructions of the party. The reproach with scholastic theorizing, which was expressed at the 25th CPSU Congress and which was repeated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, obliges us to think over first of all a system of measures, which makes it possible to link theoretical scientific activity more closely with the solution of urgent problems of social development, so that the social sciences would more effectively promote the achievement of our great goals both within the country and on the international arena and would make a more and more significant contribution to the assurance of the superiority of socialism over the obsolete capitalist system.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

## STUDY OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 7-16

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Fridrikh Rafailovich Filipov, chief of the Department of the Social Structure of Soviet Society of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences

/Text The increase of the social homogeneity of mature socialist society, the elimination of the differences between the classes and social groups constituting it, the increasing unity of the Soviet people as a new historical community of people--all this reflects the diverse changes taking place in the life of our country /3/. In the accountability reports of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th and 26th party congresses special sections are devoted to the social class structure. At the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses the studies of the social structure were mentioned among the most important directions of the development of the social sciences.

The urgency of these studies is dictated by the extent of the changes of the social structure of Soviet society, as well as the problems of the elaboration of a scientifically sound social policy of the party and the state under the conditions of mature socialism. As L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, the convergence of the classes and social groups of Soviet society is "an objective, but by no means spontaneous process" /5, p 52/. This lends particular importance to the specifically "administrative" aspect of studies of the social structure.

In the past decade our country has taken a big step in the direction of a classless structure of society. The two forms of socialist property were brought even closer together, the differences between the city and the countryside, between workers of physical and mental labor are being eliminated. The working class, the leading role of which is increasing with the increase of its ideological and political maturity, level of education and occupational skill, makes up nearly two-thirds of the population. "The very nature of the labor of the modern worker is also changing. This labor is being filled more and more with an intellectual content" /5, p 52/. Profound changes have occurred in the structure and makeup of the kolkhoz peasantry; the number of kolkhoz farmers engaged in skilled, mechanized labor has increased. The intelligentsia, the majority of whom work in the sphere of material production makes up more than a fourth of the population of the country.

These processes have been studied extensively by sociologists and representatives of the other social sciences. During the 1970's alone more than 2,500 works /6/



were published on the problems of the social structure of Soviet society, two all-union, as well as regional and republic scientific conferences were held. Moreover, conferences devoted to the working class, the intelligentsia and young people took place.

In light of the results of the 26th CPSU Congress the need exists to examine what was done during those years in the area of sociological studies proper of the social structure of mature socialist society. As was noted in the editorial of the journal KOMMUNIST, here "...methodological questions have come to the forefront" /7, p 83/; their extensive discussion has made it possible to extend and clarify the scientific, Marxist-Leninist understanding of the process of the convergence of the working class and the intelligentsia in Soviet society. Sociological studies "...have given convincing evidence of the existence and rapid growth of the stratum of highly skilled workers, who control complicated equipment and have a secondary specialized and higher education and in whose labor mental efforts predominate" /7, pp 83, 84/--the worker-intellectuals. The historical importance of this process was emphasized in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress: "...Physical and mental labor is being more and more closely interwoven in the production activity of millions of workers and kolkhoz farmers. Many of them are rationalizers and inventors, the authors of articles and books, state and public figures. They are in the full sense highly cultured, educated people" /5, p 53/.

The discovery of the specific forms and mechanisms of the overcoming of the social class differences in the society of mature socialism and of the formation of its complete social homogeneity will henceforth be the main direction of the sociological studies of the social structure. The concentration of attention on the social class structure fundamentally distinguishes Marxist-Leninist sociology from bourgeois sociology, the methodological untenability of which appears clearly, in particular, in the fact that for many years now it has been floundering in a sea of "strata," "small groups" and other dissimilar "communities," attempting to replace the Marxist concept "class" with them.

Marxist-Leninist sociology, while studying the relations between classes and social groups, includes in its arsenal diverse means and methods of scientific knowledge. It is not confined to the general statement of the direction of social development, to the establishment of the trends of change of the social makeup of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia and, basing itself on general sociological theory and extensive empirical material, strives to study the internal structure of classes and social groups and the influence of objective and subjective factors on them and to identify the additional social reserves of the acceleration of the process of the movement of society toward complete social homogeneity and the possibilities of controlling this process within the social policy of the party and the state.

At the same time an urgent need is being felt for the more complete and thorough knowledge of the interrelationship and interaction of the processes taking place in the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia and other social groups and for the elaboration of "boundary" problems. Studies covering a wide range of "secondary" social class attributes, including the level of education and culture, the peculiarities of everyday life and so forth, are urgent.

Let us dwell in more detail on the results of this work and on some new tasks of sociological research, which stem from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The study of the mechanisms and trends of the development of the social structure of mature socialist society is impossible without the elaboration of a conceptual apparatus and the identification of the essential aspect of the process in question. The gathering of empirical material in turn enriches the theoretical notions about the development of the social structure. Precisely the interrelationship, the unity of theoretical and empirical knowledge makes it possible to advance the study of the named problems. The 26th CPSU Congress indicated the intolerability of scholastic theorizing, which still exists in the works of social scientists and with which they attempt to replace the comprehension of new phenomena. As the debates held in recent years, including in the pages of *SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA*, have shown, this critical remark fully applies to the study of the social structure of Soviet society.

The study of these problems in past years was an integral part of the elaboration of /the concept of mature socialism/ [in boldface]. Thus, in the collective monograph prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee (the head of the collective of authors was Doctor of Philosophical Sciences R. I. Kosolapov) [8] a special chapter, in which the most important features of social integration--the main direction of the development of social relations under the conditions of mature socialism--are thoroughly analyzed, is devoted to questions of the social structure. The authors justly stress that the need for a differentiated approach to the various categories of the population cannot be reduced merely to the consideration of the still remaining class differences: it is necessary to take into account the intraclass and extraclass social differentiation, the importance of which is increasing under the conditions of the elimination of class differences.

Sociologists have repeatedly directed attention to the determination of the intraclass social stratal structure by the differences in the nature of labor and the qualitative peculiarities of objectively unequal types of labor. K. Marx indicated this: "The qualitative difference between workers, if it is not a natural difference, which is governed by sex, age, physical strength..., that is, which au fond expresses not the qualitative value of labor, but the division of labor, its differentiation, is itself only a historical result and is again destroyed for the majority of types of labor, since they are simple labor, while qualitatively higher labor finds its economic measure in comparison with simple labor" [1]. Precisely the qualitative heterogeneity of simple and complex labor is responsible for the intraclass differentiation, which does not have an exclusively occupational nature. The sociological studies of recent years (particularly the ones conducted in Gor'kovskaya Oblast and Bashkiria) have made it possible to identify the essential social characteristics of the main strata of the working class and to make more concrete the knowledge about the trends of its convergence with the engineering and technical intelligentsia. The dialectics of the formation of the social homogeneity of society and the interrelationship of interclass and intraclass differences received new coverage in a number of monographs [9-13].

The analysis of the genesis of the social structure of mature socialism, which was made by history scholars (V. Ye. Poletayev, V. M. Selunskaya, S. L. Senyavskiy, S. A. Fedyukin and others), is of great importance for perceiving these processes. The picture reconstructed by them of the development of the Soviet working class,

kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia and of the evolution of large social groups, first of all young people, makes it possible to comprehend more thoroughly today's changes and to see the future. It is especially valuable that sociological methods are used extensively in the named studies. This ensures a high degree of their comparability with the materials of sociological research proper.

Sociologists are also attempting to analyze the processes being studied by means of follow-up studies, which are close to historical sociological studies. The general law of the increasing interpenetration of sciences is manifested in this. Of the follow-up studies let us note the above-mentioned one of Gor'kovskaya Oblast (G. V. Osipov, V. V. Kolbanovskiy, V. G. Mordkovich et al.), "Kopanka 40 let spustya" /Kopanka 40 Years Later/ (V. I. Staroverov et al.), "Vozdeystviye vysshego obrazovaniya na sotsial'nuyu strukturu sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" /The Influence of Higher Education on the Social Structure of Socialist Society/ (1973, in six regions of the USSR /14/; the Soviet portion of the international project was carried out in the European part of the RSPSR and the Soviet Baltic republics in 1978 /15/). The practical experience of follow-up studies has shown their great advantages over one-time studies.

In recent years the study of the processes which characterize, as was noted in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, the overcoming of differences which go beyond individual classes, first of all social territorial differences, was vitally important. Many regional features of the increase of social homogeneity were discovered, which made it possible to substantiate the methods of the regional approach to the study of the social structure and to the revelation of the dialectics of its general and particular. Let us note, in particular a number of ethnosociological studies (Yu. V. Arutyunyan, V. I. Boyko, M. S. Dzhumalov, O. I. Shkaratan), the analysis of the peculiarities of the development of the social structure in some union republics (R. Pullat, E. Rannik, M. Titma in Estonia; M. Ye. Ashmanis in Latvia; A. Matylenis in Lithuania; V. F. Chernovolenko, V. I. Astakhova in the Ukraine; S. N. Soskin, Ts. R. Rozenberg in Kazakhstan; A. K. Kapypkulov in Kirghizia; S. P. Tursunmukhamedov in Uzbekistan and so on). The theoretical and practical importance of the results of the study of the regional peculiarities of the social structure, which is being made in Siberia (T. I. Zaslavskaya, D. L. Konstantinovskiy, V. L. Soskin), in the Urals (L. N. Kogan, N. S. Novoselov, L. Ya. Rubina) and in the Volga-Vyatka Region (A. I. Sukharev), is great.

A regional approach in the studies of the social structure was also necessary when studying the peculiarities of different zones in the oblast, kray and republic, primarily when examining problems of the social development of the countryside, the convergence of the latter with the city under the conditions of the growth of agro-industrial associations, the specialization and interfarm cooperation of agricultural enterprises. New trends of the change of the intraclass structure of the kolkhoz peasantry, the evolution of the social structure of the rural population as a whole and the increasing convergence of the city and the countryside were discovered by means of sociological methods. The studies made it possible to see how the social unity of the agricultural detachment of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the rural intelligentsia is directly accomplished in the new forms of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration /16, 17/.

New steps were also taken in the study of the processes of the convergence of people of physical and mental labor. Unfortunately, the studies of this type are still not of a systematic nature, they are limited to an analysis of the trends of



the convergence of the working class (first of all its most skilled portion) with the engineering and technical intelligentsia. Moreover, primarily large industrial enterprises or individual sectors, the selection of which is in no way substantiated, are taken as the objects of such studies. For the present there is not one all-union study, in which the named process is examined as the main one (the study of the social indicators of the convergence of the working class and the intelligentsia in a number of union republics, which was recently begun on the initiative of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is an exception).

At the same time a comprehensive survey of the trends of the social development of the Soviet working class was made on the basis of the analysis of data of censuses and sociological studies /18/. This made it possible to identify the essential social characteristics of the working class under the conditions of mature socialism and to examine the changes in its occupational structure, level of education and skill. Owing to the use of original methods of calculation the authors revealed a number of new traits of the migratory, demographic and several other processes which are characteristic of the working class. However, due to the limitation of the information base and its time frame, they were not able to analyze completely enough the necessary subjective indicators.

The first monographic study devoted to worker-intellectuals--a rapidly growing marginal stratum of the working class--appeared in Soviet sociological literature /19/.

The importance of further studies of the convergence of people of physical and mental labor stems from the program theses of Marxism-Leninism on the building of a socially homogeneous society. In the coming years the attention of many scientific collectives will unquestionably be focused on these questions. And here it is appropriate to emphasize: first of all the social, and not simply the technical and technological determinants of the overcoming of the differences between physical and mental labor have to be studied. Scientific data, which make it possible to judge how the combination of the scientific and technical revolution with socialist social relations governs the increasing convergence of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry with the intelligentsia, can be obtained only in this manner.

Of course, the technical, technological and social determinants of this process are not separated from each other by an impassable abyss. "We communists proceed from the fact that only under the conditions of socialism does the scientific and technical revolution acquire the correct direction which conforms to the interests of man and society. In turn, only on the basis of the rapid development of science and technology can the ultimate tasks of the social revolution be accomplished--a communist society can be built" /4/. That is why both superficial analogies, which are based only on new phenomena in equipment and production technology, and the attempts to examine social changes in isolation of scientific and technical progress cannot be productive.

Let us also dwell on the studies which cast light on the correlation of the changes in the social nature of the classes, social groups and strata of socialist society with the changes in their social makeup. In these studies, in addition to the accumulation of valuable factual material, an important methodological problem for sociology was also solved: to reveal the interrelationship of the changes in the essential social characteristics of the elements and subelements of the social



structure with those changes which pertain to the area of the "phenomenon" which is established empirically. The results of the studies made it possible to make considerable progress in the improvement of the conceptual apparatus and tools which sociologists use. Thus, owing to the analysis of the changes in the social makeup and nature of the Soviet intelligentsia a number of content characteristics of the main detachments of the intelligentsia were made more precise, important aspects of the formation of its reinforcements, the essential traits of the personality of the engineer, the scientist and so on were examined /20-22/.

In recent years scientists have devoted much attention to the interrelationship of the changes in the social structure of our society with the demographic situation and to the reproduction of the social structure in the process of the change of generations. The analysis of the objective trends was made, as a rule, in conjunction with the study of the subjective factors influencing them: the reproductive aims of the family, the life plans of young people, their social, occupational and value orientations and so on /23-25/. This made it possible to reveal many important aspects of the social shifts of young people and to examine the noted changes in the social sources of the reinforcement of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia. Along with the increase of the working class stratum of students an increase of the influx of children of the intelligentsia into the ranks of the working class, especially through the system of secondary vocational and technical schools, was noted. In the life plans of the graduates of school an "equalization" of the orientations toward working class occupations and toward occupations requiring a higher education, which entailed a decrease of the percentage of upper graders who intend to enroll in a higher school, was established.

However, the connection of the changes taking place in the social status of parents during their labor life and of the social shifts of the "second generation" has still not been adequately revealed. The factors influencing the social and occupational orientation of young people have been far from completely revealed. Their study is acquiring particular importance at this time, when the task of using manpower resources more efficiently is arising. The problems of the prestige of labor collectives and the specific nature of the formation of the estimates of prestige in different sectors of the national economy and in different regions of the country have not been studied enough.

Under the conditions of the increasing specialization of labor and the formation of a new occupational structure of production the importance of the interrelationship of the occupational and social division of labor is increasing. Of course, it would be incorrect to replace the study of social class relations by the study of the changes in the functional content of labor and the formation of the present sectorial pattern of production. But it is just as incorrect to break the objective link which exists between the occupational and social division of labor, the occupational and social structure.

The new "set" of occupations, and especially those in which physical and mental, agrarian and industrial labor are integrally combined, certainly influences the development of the social class structure of socialist society. Of course, this is not the only factor which promotes the formation of complete social homogeneity. However, to ignore it on the basis that the occupational structure is not identical to the social structure, and especially to contrast the development of the mentioned structures means to disregard reality.

The connection of the changes in the social structure with the development of the occupational structure is responsible for the unity of the social and occupational orientation of young people and makes it possible to influence favorably their social shifts. The further improvement of the occupational orientation of young people, the importance of which the 26th CPSU Congress reemphasized, is impossible without the detailed study of these interrelations, which are developing at the "meeting point" of social groups and occupations.

The analysis of the system of education as a factor which promotes the rapid elimination of social differences and at the same time their reproduction, held a special place in the sociological studies. The study of the influence of different links of the system of education on the social structure of society was one of the typical traits of the development of sociological science, in which the interdisciplinary relations of special theories of the "intermediate level" are established. Much factual material, which characterizes the role of the system of education as a channel of mass social shifts of young people with allowance made for the regional peculiarities of this process, was gathered. The studies of a large detachment of the Soviet intelligentsia--teachers--were "bordering" on the problems of the social structure.

The increasing convergence of the classes, social groups and strata of Soviet society in the level of education is combined with the relative stability of the differences, especially in the quality of education. The study of the ways and means of overcoming these differences is one of the vital tasks of both the sociology of education and the theory of social structure.

It is also necessary to note the other "meeting points." Whereas in past years the attention of the investigators of the social structure was focused on socio-economic processes (the development and convergence of the two forms of socialist property, the changes in the nature of the labor of workers, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia), now the importance of the studies of the interrelationship of the evolution of the social structure with the sociopolitical changes occurring in society and with the development of its spiritual life is increasing. The task of focusing efforts on the elaboration of "the problems of the social structure, the development of the political system of mature socialism, the strengthening of the legal basis of state and public life, communist education, the all-round and harmonious development of man, the socialist way of life" is set in the Main Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1981 and the Period to 1990 /5, p 146/. The joint efforts of investigators of the social structure, ideological processes and the way of life and the coordination of the work of sociologists, jurists, educators and representatives of the other social sciences will be required for its accomplishment. The comprehensive program of the study of the laws of the social development of mature socialist society, which for a number of years now has been implemented by a number of institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is acquiring particular importance in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The role of the scientific forecast of the further improvement of the social structure of society is increasing. The version of this forecast, which has now been made, requires substantial refinements. The conclusion drawn in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress: "...the formation of a classless structure of society primarily and for the most part will take place within the historical framework of mature socialism" /5, p 53/ is of decisive importance for forecasting the development of the social structure of Soviet society.

Under present conditions the importance of the criticism of anti-Marxist concepts is increasing. In recent years Soviet sociologists have more than once, as they say, had to face the adherents of bourgeois views of socialism and its social structure. At the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth World Congresses of Sociology, at the 11th World Congress of the International Association of Political Sciences and during the visits of delegations of Soviet sociologists to the United States, the FRG and other countries our scientists consistently and convincingly defended Marxist-Leninist doctrine, soundly and comprehensively criticized various versions of the theories of "stratification," "social conflicts" and so forth and revealed the true picture of socialist social relations. In the past 5 years articles on these questions have been repeatedly published in the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (as well as in a number of other periodical publications) /26/. However, so far there is no general work in which a comprehensive critique of modern bourgeois, right revisionist and Maoist views of the development in the USSR of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia and of the formation of social equality is given.

It is important to take into account that the anti-Marxist and antisocialist concepts of the social structure owing to the efforts of the propaganda hostile to our system are having a definite ideological influence on the working masses in the capitalist countries and are creating among them a distorted idea of socialism, by discrediting its real social achievements and the social policy of the Communist Parties. The timely, thorough, vigorous criticism of these concepts holds a significant place in the ideological struggle against the forces of imperialism and the reaction.

The cooperation of Soviet sociologists with scientists from the fraternal countries is making a substantial contribution to the elaboration of the problems of the social structure of society and the criticism of views hostile to socialism. An international scientific collective of Marxist sociologists, which is united within the Problem Commission of multilateral cooperation of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries, "The Evolution of the Social Structure of Socialist Society. Social Planning and Forecasting," which was set up in 1974, was formed in recent years. The increasing economic integration of the fraternal countries constituted the basis for the joint study of the changes in the social structure. Major international studies have been made; important scientific results, particularly with respect to the identification of the role of the system of education in the change of the social structure of socialist society and of the trends of the convergence of the working class and the intelligentsia, have been obtained. All this clearly confirms the words spoken by L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress: "The spiritual contact, the close ties in the area of ideology and culture" of the socialist countries "have become a firm norm" /5, p 5/.

The extensive program of the social development of Soviet society, which was outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress, includes the further improvement of the social class structure and national relations, measures on the further development of the Soviet political system, the strengthening of the material and spiritual bases of the socialist way of life and the formation of the new man. The implementation of this program will entail new changes in the social structure of mature socialism in the direction of complete social homogeneity. Responsible tasks, which are dictated by the new directions of /the social policy of the party and the state/ /in bold-face/, face sociologists who are studying these problems. "The elimination of interclass differences," L. I. Brezhnev said in the Accountability Report to the



26th CPSU Congress, "is, of course, setting new tasks for social policy. It is concentrating more and more on overcoming the differences which go beyond individual classes, on the solution of problems which require the most careful consideration of the peculiarities and interests of each group of our society" [5, p 54]. Sociologists have to do much work on the identification and study of the distinctive features of the social groups which go "beyond individual classes." In particular, social territorial communities, groups which occupy an intermediate, transitional social position and several others belong here.

A large number of problems, which are connected with the development of /socio-demographic groups/ [in boldface], the interaction of demographic processes with reproduction and the change of the social structure of Soviet society, are very urgent. During the coming five-year plan the sociological problems of young people and education will be raised in many respects in a new way and in a number of instances will be more urgent than before. The increase of the shortage of manpower resources, especially in young cities, in the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and in the regions of the Tyumen' North, will require scientifically sound recommendations on the optimization of the distribution of young people among the "units" of the social structure, among the sectors of the national economy, regions and labor collectives. The means of increasing the social effectiveness of education, especially vocational education, have to be studied thoroughly.

When outlining the measures on the optimization of the demographic situation, the 26th CPSU Congress devoted special attention to the increase of the concern about the family, young couples and first of all working women. The social problems of female labor, the vocational education of women and preschool training--all this will henceforth interest the investigators of the social structure. Much has to be done on the study of the social and occupational advancement of women in different sectors of the national economy. A question of no small importance is the optimization of the intersectorial distribution of women: the excessive "feminization" of some sectors (for example, public education, public health) and the shortage of women in others lead to identically undesirable results. (It is a matter, of course, not of those types of labor, which adversely affect the health of women and in which the labor of the latter will henceforth be limited.) The same thing should also be said about the excessive concentration of women in the social stratum of employees (nonspecialists) and their small proportion, for example, among management personnel of various ranks.

Retirees, the total number of whom in 1980 came to 49 million, or 18.6 percent of the total population, make up a large and steadily increasing group of the population of the country [27]. During the 11th Five-Year Plan new steps will be taken on the improvement of the material situation of retirees, especially disabled veterans and participants in the Great Patriotic War. The extensive involvement of retirees in labor in social production remains an important social problem. So far it is possible to speak only about the first steps in its study [28, 29]. In the future new studies of different groups of retirees--by sex, age, former occupation and others--will be required.

The 26th CPSU Congress advanced the task of the thorough study of /national relations/ [in boldface] with allowance made for the socio-economic changes in the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, okrugs and so on. Sociologists have to do much on the study of the multinational population of republics, krays and oblasts, cities and villages, labor collectives, including the representation



of different nationalities in the organs of state power and administration at all levels, in the management organs of cooperative and public organizations. The problems concerning international contact, bilingualism and the exchange of national personnel still await examination.

In the coming years, along with the further improvement of the social class structure and national relations, significant changes will occur in /the sphere of distribution/ /in boldface/, which will have a direct influence on the makeup of classes, social groups and strata. The conditions and forms of distribution, as is known, are one of the essential criteria of social differences. The convergence of the standards of living of all groups of workers during the 1970's is an important factor of the increase of the social homogeneity of our society. This sphere of social relations in the future will also require the constant attention of sociological science. In particular, it is desirable to obtain more detailed information on the level of income of different groups of the population (including from public funds), as well as on the means of deriving different types of income, which are not included directly in the basic wage (additional earnings during free time, income from the rental of housing and business premises, from the private plot and so forth).

In coming years the importance of studies of /education/ /in boldface/ as a factor of the increase of the social homogeneity of society will increase even more. Whereas the reproduction of the social structure and the social shifts of young people are ensured mainly by the system of vocational education (vocational and technical schools, secondary specialized and higher educational institutions), the increasing convergence of classes, social groups and strata in the level of education is being ensured first of all by the secondary educational school. The quality of education is now being placed in the forefront. Research sociologists jointly with the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (the need for this contact was discussed at one of the meetings of the round table of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA /30/) can make a significant contribution to the study of the social indicators of the quality of education and to the elaboration of recommendations on the implementation of a uniform state standard of the general educational training of young people.

The problems of sociological studies of the social structure will be discussed comprehensively at the All-Union Scientific Conference in October 1981 in Tallinn. There is every reason to presume that it will serve as an important stimulus for stepping up the efforts of social scientists who are studying the social structure of Soviet society.

"The social structure of society and authority," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is characterized by changes, without the clarification of which it is impossible to take a step in any area whatsoever of social activity" /27/. The 26th CPSU Congress thoroughly analyzed these changes, gave a precise and clear program of the economic and social development of our country and contributed much that is new to the theoretical elaboration of the most important problems of social life, including the problems of the development of the social structure. Guided by the decisions of the party congress, Soviet scientists will make their contribution to the realization of the set tasks.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Marx, K., "A Critique of Political Economy (A Rough Draft of 1857-1858). A Chapter on Capital," "Ekonomicheskiye rukopisi 1858-1861 gg." /Economic Manuscripts of 1858-1861/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1980, Part II, p 113.
2. Lenin, V. I., "On the Social Structure of Authority, the Prospects and Liquidation," "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 20, p 186.
3. Brezhnev, L. I., "On the Draft of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," "Leninskim kursom" /By the Leninist Course/, Vol 6, Moscow, Politizdat, 1978, p 375.
4. Brezhnev, L. I., "Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy," "Leninskim kursom," Vol 5, Moscow, Politizdat, 1976, p 501.
5. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1981.
6. "Sotsial'naya struktura sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva. 1970-1977. Bibliograficheskiy ukazatel'" /The Social Structure of Socialist Society. 1970-1977. A Bibliographical Index/, Parts I-II, Tallinn, Institut istorii AN ESSR, 1980.
7. "Sociological Research: Results, Problems and Tasks," KOMMUNIST, No 13, 1980.
8. "Razvitoye sotsializm: problemy teorii i praktiki" /Mature Socialism: Problems of Theory and Practice/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1979.
9. Amvrosov, A. A., "Ot klassovoy differentsiatsii k sotsial'noy odnorodnosti obshchestva" /From the Class Differentiation to the Social Homogeneity of Society/, Moscow, Mysl', 1978.
10. Rutkevich, M. N., "Tendentsii razvitiya sotsial'noy struktury sovetskogo obshchestva" /Trends of the Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society/, Moscow, Mysl', 1975.
11. Rutkevich, M. N., "Dialektika i sotsiologiya" /Dialectics and Sociology/, Moscow, Mysl', 1980.
12. Semenov, V. S., "Dialektika razvitiya sotsial'noy struktury sovetskogo obshchestva" /The Dialectics of the Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society/, Moscow, Mysl', 1977.
13. "Sotsial'naya struktura razvitoogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva v SSSR" /The Social Structure of the Mature Socialist Society in the USSR/, M. N. Rutkevich and F. R. Filippov, editors in chief, Moscow, Nauka, 1976.
14. "Vysshaya shkola kak faktor izmeneniya sotsial'noy struktury razvitoogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" /The Higher School as a Factor of Change of the Social Structure of the Mature Socialist Society/, M. N. Rutkevich and F. R. Filippov, editors in chief, Moscow, Nauka, 1978.

15. Filippov, F. R., "The Formation of Reinforcements of the Socialist Intelligentsia," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1980, pp 87-98.
16. Simush, P. I., "Sotsial'nyy portret sovetskogo krest'yanstva" /A Social Portrait of the Soviet Peasantry/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1976.
17. Staroverov, V. I., Timush, A. I. and Tsurkanu, N. V., "Derevnya v usloviyakh integratsii" /The Village Under the Conditions of Integration/, Moscow, Mysl', 1979.
18. "Sotsial'noye razvitiye rabochego klassa SSSR" /The Social Development of the Working Class of the USSR/, Moscow, Nauka, 1977.
19. Gelyuta, A. M. and Staroverov, V. I., "Sotsial'nyy oblik rabochego-intelligenta" /The Social Makeup of the Worker-Intellectual/, Moscow, Mysl', 1977.
20. Rutkevich, M. N., "Intelligentsiya v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve" /The Intelligentsia in the Mature Socialist Society/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1977.
21. "Sotsial'no-psikhologicheskii portret inzhenera" /A Social Psychological Portrait of the Engineer/, Moscow, Mysl', 1977.
22. Yanovskiy, R. G., "Formirovaniye lichnosti uchenogo v usloviyakh razvitogo sotsializma" /The Formation of the Personality of a Scientist Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism/, Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1979.
23. Slesarev, G. A., "Demograficheskiye protsessy i sotsial'naya struktura sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" /Demographic Processes and the Social Structure of Socialist Society/, Moscow, Nauka, 1978.
24. Filippov, F. R., "Vseobshcheye sredneye obrazovaniye v SSSR (sotsiologicheskiye problemy)" /Universal Secondary Education in the USSR (Sociological Problems)/, Moscow, Mysl', 1976.
25. Kharchev, A. G. and Matskovskiy, M. S., "Sovremennaya sem'ya i yeye problemy" /The Modern Family and Its Problems/, Moscow, Statistika, 1978.
26. SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA: No 1, 1977, pp 160-167; No 2, 1977, pp 165-175; No 4, 1977, pp 156-162, 184-195; No 3, 1978, pp 155-160; No 1, 1979, pp 72-77; No 3, 1979, pp 116-122; No 4, 1979, pp 111-120; No 3, 1980, pp 94-107, 206-218.
27. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1979 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1979/, Moscow, Statistika, 1980, pp 7, 439. The calculation is ours—F. F.
28. Shapiro, V. D., "Chelovek na pensii" /The Person on a Pension/, Moscow, Mysl', 1980.
29. Dmitriyev, A. V., "Sotsial'nyye problemy lyudey pozhiloy vozrasta" /Social Problems of the Aged/, Leningrad, Nauka, 1980.
30. "Sociological Problems of Education and Training," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1979, pp 53-74.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

## THE MAIN RESULTS AND TASKS OF THE STUDIES OF BUDGETS OF TIME IN THE USSR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 17-21

/Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Vasilii Dmitriyevich Patrushev, chief of the Sector of Budgets of Time of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The study of the budget of time is one of the main directions of sociology, which makes it possible to establish the actual behavior of various social groups and the entire population of one region or another. The analysis by means of this method of different aspects of the way of life of people is of great importance for the study of the regularities of the latter and for the elaboration of measures on its further improvement.

The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the need for the efficient use of working time and the increase of free time, the improvement of the organization of leisure, the facilitation of labor in housekeeping and the increase of the satisfaction of the everyday needs of the population. The set tasks take into account both the achievements in this area and the unsolved problems.

The decrease of the overall workload by 3-4 hours a week is among the most significant positive changes in the use of the budget of time among those employed in industry. The changeover to a 5-day work week, the development of intracity transportation, as well as the improvement of the work of consumer service enterprises to a considerable extent were conducive to this.

Similar changes also occurred among the workers of agriculture. For example, the overall workload of the kolkhoz farmers of Rostovskaya Oblast during the summer period decreased among men by approximately 2 hours a week and among women by 8 hours.

At the same time, as was already noted, many problems still have to be solved. As in the past the inefficient expenditures of working time are great. Its intrashift losses alone amount at many enterprises to 15-20 percent, while during a workday they amount to 25-30 percent. Thus, given the existing 41-hour work week in a number of cases a 30-hour work week actually exists. The fact that they have essentially resigned themselves to such losses--concealed and obvious ones--is alarming. When studying labor activeness the indicators of the use of working time are practically not taken into account; moreover, the legitimacy of carrying it out not according to the basic purpose often is not called into question.



The time being spent on the meeting of everyday needs and household labor, especially among working women, continues to remain very significant (more than 30 hours a week). The total expenditures of society for these purposes are enormous: on the average for every inhabitant over the age of 12 they amount to approximately 1,800 hours a year. In the overall balance of time of the population they account for about 20 percent, while labor in social production accounts for 17 percent. It should be noted that in recent years the time spent on meeting everyday needs has been decreasing more slowly, and in some cities is even increasing.

The amount of free time of Soviet workers is one of the largest amounts in the world. However, this indicator is different for men and women, for workers of industry and agriculture. The conditions of the use of free time also are different, inefficient forms of spending it are still quite widespread, especially among young people.

Such a situation resulted first of all from the fact that the material base and the existing system of the organization of free time lag behind the increased needs of the population. The efficiency of the work of the corresponding enterprises and institutions is evaluated for the present not according to the degree of satisfaction of the workers, but according to the fulfillment of the financial plan.

The changes connected with the changeover to a 5-day work week are still far from being realized. Whereas previously days off accounted for about 25-30 percent of the weekly amount of free time, now they account for nearly 50 percent. The distribution of the annual amount of free time has also changed substantially; among those employed in industry workdays now account for approximately 44 percent of it, days off--41 percent, regular leave--8 percent. The predominant part of all free time is spent by the workers and the members of their family near home. Meanwhile the system of relaxation in our country is organized according to the sectorial principle, while local organs of soviet power (rayon soviet executive committees, city soviet executive committees) do not have sufficient assets for the development of the material base and the assurance of the efficient leisure of the population, especially the active forms, at the place of residence.

Thus, large reserves still exist in the use of the budget of time in all the spheres of the vital activity of people, and the further purposeful search for means for their successful realization is necessary.

In recent years Soviet researchers have taken very fruitful steps in this direction. A number of publications [1, 2, 3] have been devoted to the problem of balances of time. Many questions were discussed at a conference held by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1979 [4]. Experience in creating a long-range balance of the time of the inhabitants of a republic (the Latvian SSR) exists, the elaboration of methods of the calculation and analysis of "special" balances of time: working and free time, has begun. The Scientific Research Institute of Economics of USSR Gosplan is studying this problem in connection with the need to take time indicators into account in the statewide plan.

The "balance approach" made it possible to extend the understanding of the trends and regularities of the distribution and use of time by the population of cities, republics and the country as a whole, but the labor-intensity of obtaining the necessary information, unfortunately, prevents the extensive dissemination of the indicated method.

A definite contribution was made to the solution of problems concerning free time. Not only the amount and structure, but also questions of the motivation of activity during free time and of the satisfaction with how it is spent were at the center of attention of sociologists /5, 6/.

The problem of elaborating a system of time indicators for the plans of socio-economic development also became an object of study. The Institute of Economics and the Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences prepared a special collection /7/; the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with the Institute of Economics of the Latvian SSR held a working conference on this theme in Riga.

During 1976-1980 many new studies of the budgets of time were conducted in the country: the budgets of the families of workers, employees and kolkhoz farmers of many oblasts and autonomous republics (1977 and 1980, the RSFSR Central Statistical Administration), the workers of industry of Omsk and Velikiye Luki (1976, the Sector of Budgets of Time of the Institute of Sociological Research), the population of Rubtsovsk (1980, the Institute of Economics and the Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences) and so on.

The conducted studies, the results of which were reflected in a large number of major publications /6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17/, made it possible to establish, on the one hand, the present state of the use of the budget of time of various categories of the population and, on the other, the changes in the duration and structure of the main groups of types of activity.

In the past 5 years the link with practice has become closer. For example, the use of time indicators for the compiling of a plan of the socio-economic development of the city was the most important task of the already mentioned study in Rubtsovsk. The Sector of Budgets of Time of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences carried out the elaboration of the theme on the instructions of USSR Gosplan. Other collectives (in Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Riga, Vilnius, Kaunas and so on) also cooperated closely with state and public organizations.

As to the method of studying budgets of time, there are very few special major publications on this /18, 19, 20/. Here the conclusion about the need to take into account subjective opinions and appraisals of the value orientations of respondents is new and interesting.

Such in brief are the main achievements in the study of the budget of time. At the same time a large number of shortcomings also exist in this area.

First of all it should be noted that many specialists continue to use ideas which were advanced in the late 1950's and early 1960's, on the basis of the tasks of that period (for example, the concept of "reserves of time" is used extensively). It is necessary to interpret questions of social development more extensively and to connect scientific developments more closely with the solution of practical problems. The study of the budget of time should not be limited only to a description of the existing situation, it should now promote the improvement of the way of life of the population to a much greater extent than previously.

It is also impossible to recognize as satisfactory the contribution of researchers of the budget of time to the drafting of the plans of economic and social development (both the regional and the sectorial plans). There is no system of the necessary time indicators, not enough scientifically sound recommendations are being given to management and planning organs.

The fact that a number of important questions, first of all questions connected with the problems of working time, were not included in the study group, is also a substantial shortcoming. Many socio-economic aspects, including the schedules of working time ("flexible schedules," the time of the granting of leave, the attitude toward its use and others), "fell" from the purview of researchers.

Foreign experience is poorly taken into account. Meanwhile in both the socialist and the capitalist countries in recent years extensive materials on the problems in question have been published, new concepts and approaches have been elaborated and statewide studies of the budget of time have been conducted. We have extremely few publications which give a critical interpretation to foreign works.<sup>1</sup>

And, finally, it is impossible not to speak about the low level of the method of gathering, processing and analyzing the data. There are no standard computer processing programs for different computers. The analysis is often limited to the data on the average duration of the expenditures of time. There are no studies of the efficiency of different methods of gathering information, its quality and so on.

What are the most important directions of the studies on the use of budgets of time? Let us examine several of them.

1. The elaboration of the theoretical and practical aspects of the problem--the budget of time as a criterion of the improvement of the socialist way of life.
2. The further study of the essence, functions and importance of the main groups of the budget of time; in particular, it is expedient to devote more attention to the analysis of value orientations and the motivation of behavior in all the spheres of the vital activity of a person.
3. The detailed interpretation of not only the special, but also the general laws of the socialist system of the distribution and use of time, the study of the budget of time both among different social groups and among the population of cities, oblasts, republics and the country as a whole. This will make it possible to determine the effectiveness of the socio-economic measures being implemented, including capital investments. The state organization of surveys, which are representative for the entire population of one region or another, is necessary for the realization of this suggestion. The results of such surveys can and should be used in the planning of the economic and social development of the national economy.
4. The study of the effectiveness of the socio-economic policy in the area of the improvement of the satisfaction of the everyday, cultural and other needs of the workers. Due to the lack of precisely formulated principles of the improvement of the extraproduction activity of social groups and of specific tasks for the immediate and distant future the effectiveness of many adopted socio-economic measures is

---

1. An exception in recent years is, perhaps, the book of B. I. Dubson /21/.



not always high enough. Thus, the decrease of working time led to an increase of free time to a greater extent among men, and not among women. The sphere of personal and cultural services after the changeover to a 5-day work week was not completely ready for the concentration of almost half of the weekly amount of free time on days off. It has so far not been possible to achieve a significant decrease of the expenditures of time, especially among working women, on keeping house. Criteria of the effectiveness of the satisfaction of the everyday and leisure-time needs of the population, including indicators of time and of the satisfaction with how it is used, are necessary for determining the causes of the formed situation.

It is also worthwhile to think about the legitimacy of some fixed concepts. For example, the opinion that free time should constantly increase, while the time for the satisfaction of everyday needs should decrease, is widespread. But neither the increase nor the decrease of the duration of any pursuits can be an end in itself. In this connection the need arises to determine the effectiveness of various types of activity of people. Is, for example, the effectiveness of the housework of women increasing? Are the per capita expenditures of time of society on the distribution of material wealth among the members of the latter increasing or decreasing? Do the increase of time and the nature of the spending of a holiday favorably influence labor productivity, or are the consequences of "leisure-time fatigue" negative?

5. The elaboration of a system of time indicators, the method of their calculation and the determination of the areas of use. For solving this problem it is expedient to use both the results of studies of the budget of time and statistical data (on the distribution of working time, vacations and so on). The analysis of not only the average expenditures of time, but also their actual amount on the corresponding types of activity among different groups of the population will make it possible to determine the necessary norms of expenditures and their structure. In addition to time indicators, indicators of the satisfaction with its spending should be introduced. Calculated with respect to large populations, they are social psychological and socio-economic characteristics.

6. The more detailed study of individual types of expenditures of the budget of time. In the area of working time the amount and structure of national economic losses and inefficient expenditures, as well as the causes and the means of their decrease and the methods of increasing the interest in this of all categories of workers should be the object of study.

Specific measures on the shortening of the time being spent on meeting everyday needs are impossible without a detailed analysis of the expenditures on the preparation of food, shopping, travel by transportation, labor in collective orchards and gardens, private plots and so on.

The problems of free time, the organization of the efficient activity of workers on workdays and days off, during leave, at the place of work and the place of residence, during different seasons of the year and so on merit close attention.

The need has arisen to study the reasons and causes of the dissemination of forms of leisure, which deviate from the socially accepted forms.

7. The scientific organization of the time of relaxation and the meeting of everyday needs [1, p 163]. Reserves of time are being released not only as a result of

the development of the material base, but also due to the proper organization of daily life and relaxation. The determination of the efficiency of the operation of the corresponding enterprises and institutions should be based first of all on the degree of satisfaction of the cultural and everyday needs of the population.

8. The further improvement of the methods of gathering information, processing and analyzing the data with allowance made for foreign experience in the study of budgets of time (on the condition of the critical analysis of the concepts of bourgeois researchers). The preparation of a workbook on the budget of time and of procedural handbooks on the processing and analysis of information is also desirable.

Such, in our opinion, are the most important problems, toward the solution of which it is necessary to direct the efforts of researchers of budgets of time.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Patrushev, V. D., "Ispol'zovaniye sovokupnogo vremeni obshchestva" /The Use of the Overall Time of Society/, Moscow, Mysl', 1978.
2. "Balans vremeni naseleniya Latvyskoy SSR" /The Balance of Time of the Population of the Latvian SSR/, Riga, Zinatne, 1976.
3. "Vremya goroda i usloviya yego ispol'zovaniya" /The Time of the City and the Conditions of Its Use/, Novosibirsk, IEOPP SO AN SSSR, 1976.
4. "Metodologicheskiye i metodicheskiye voprosy izucheniya byudzheta vremeni" /Methodological and Procedural Questions of the Study of the Budget of Time/, Moscow, ISI AN SSSR, 1980.
5. "Sotsial'no-psikhologicheskiy portret inzhenera" /A Social Psychological Portrait of the Engineer/, Moscow, Mysl', 1977.
6. Mints, G., "Svobodnoye vremya: zhelayemoye i deystvitel'noye" /Free Time: Desired and Real/, Moscow, Znaniye, 1978.
7. "Primeneniye pokazateley vremeni v sotsial'no-ekonomicheskom planirovanii goroda" /The Use of Time Indicators in the Socio-Economic Planning of a City/, Novosibirsk, IEOPP SO AN SSSR, 1977.
8. "Byudzheta vremeni sel'skogo naseleniya" /The Budget of Time of the Rural Population/, Moscow, Nauka, 1979.
9. Eglite, P. A., Svikis, A. Ya. and Zarinya, N. V., "The Time of the Population," Riga, Liyesma, 1979 (in Latvian).
10. Leonavichus, Yu. I., "The Budget of Time of Students," Vilnius, Mintis, 1980 (in Lithuanian).
11. "Chelovek, svobodnoye vremya i profsoyuzy" /Man, Free Time and the Trade Unions/, Moscow, Profizdat, 1980.

12. "Svobodnoye vremya i npravstvennoye vospitaniye" /Free Time and Moral Education/, Moscow, Znaniye, 1979.
13. Gordon, L. A., Klopov, Z. V. and Onikov, L. A., "Cherty sotsialisticheskogo obraza zhizni: byt gorodskikh rabochikh vchera, segodnya, zavtra" /Traits of the Socialist Way of Life: The Daily Life of the Urban Workers Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow/, Moscow, Znaniye, 1977.
14. "Ekonomicheskaya otsenka svobodnogo vremeni naseleniya v proyektnykh raschetakh otrasley obsluzhivaniya. Sbornik trudov Vsesoyuznogo NII sistemnykh issledovaniy" /The Economic Appraisal of the Free Time of the Population in the Design Estimates of the Service Sectors. A Collection of Works of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research/, issue 3, Moscow, 1978.
15. "Problemy vneproizvodstvennoy deyatel'nosti trudyashchikhsya" /Problems of the Extraproduction Activity of Workers/, Moscow, ISI AN SSSR, 1976.
16. "Tendentsii izmeneniya byudzheta vremeni trudyashchikhsya" /Trends of Change of the Budget of Time of Workers/, Moscow, ISI AN SSSR, 1979.
17. "Rabocheye i vnerabocheye vremya sel'skogo naseleniya" /The Working and Non-working Time of the Rural Population/, Novosibirsk, IEOPP SO AN SSSR, 1979.
18. "Byudzhety vremeni: voprosy izucheniya i ispol'zovaniya" /The Budget of Time: Problems of Study and Use/, Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1977.
19. "Obrabotka informatsii o byudzhete vremeni trudyashchikhsya" /The Processing of Information on the Budget of Time of Workers/, Moscow, ISI AN SSSR, 1977.
20. "Metodologicheskiye i metodicheskiye voprosy izucheniya byudzheta vremeni" /Methodological and Procedural Questions of the Study of the Budget of Time/, Moscow, ISI AN SSSR, 1980.
21. Dubson, B. I., "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy svobodnogo vremeni trudyashchikhsya v usloviyakh sovremennogo kapitalizma" /Socio-Economic Problems of the Free Time of Workers Under the Conditions of Modern Capitalism/, Moscow, Nauka, 1980.
22. Patrushev, V. D., "Leisure Satisfaction as a Social Indicator," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1979, pp 52-59.

7807

CSO: 1806/17



## ON THE QUESTION OF THE STUDY OF ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 22-28

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov, deputy director and chief of a department of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences

/Text The policy of aggressive imperialist circles has led in recent years to a considerable increase of international tension. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and specialists in foreign policy propaganda, who use subtle forms and methods of the ideological struggle against the world of socialism, are playing a substantial role in this. "The imperialists and their accomplices," L. I. Brezhnev noted in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, "are systematically conducting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They slander and distort everything that happens in these countries. For them the most important thing is to turn people away from socialism" /1.

The successful accomplishment of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU on stepping up the struggle against the ideological aggression of the class enemy presumes the systematic study of all its forms, including propaganda campaigns. The sociological study of the latter makes it possible to increase the soundness, effectiveness and aggressiveness of counterpropaganda. At present some experience of such studies has been gained in the USSR and a number of other socialist countries, and today it is already possible to draw some conclusions concerning their features and to evaluate the practical significance of the obtained results.

The first thing that can be stated in this connection is that the description, analysis and generalization of anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns are carried out on the theoretical and procedural basis of the sociology of propaganda, an intensively developing sector of scientific knowledge. It is a question of the study of an extensive group of problems which are connected with the structure and functioning of communist propaganda, a special sphere of spiritual activity, which is a complex system of diverse organizations, means, forms and methods of ideological and social psychological influence on the masses /2.

Communist propaganda performs, as is known, two basic functions: a /positive/ /in boldface function, the essence of which consists in the comprehensive explanation to the broad masses of workers of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy, in the increase of the consciousness, organization and social activeness of the Soviet people; a /critical/ /in boldface function which is aimed against bourgeois and

revisionist distortions of real socialism and ideological sabotage, against vestiges of the past in the consciousness and behavior of individual members of socialist society.

The content of both functions of propaganda includes as an integral element counter-propaganda, by which we understand purposeful activity on the exposure of anticomunist theories, concepts and views, which are spread by the mass media of the imperialist states. Of course, the "relative share" of counterpropaganda is not always the same. It is only an "attendant" element when exercising the positive function and the dominant component when realizing the critical function.

The sociological study of propaganda campaigns has many features in common with the study of other ideological objects. But there is here much that is specific, that is governed by the very nature of this phenomenon, by the complexity of its structure, the diversity of the methods of conduct, the political acuteness and the individual approach to different audiences.

In the opinion of scientists working in this area, a propaganda campaign can be examined in the broad and narrow sense [37]. In the broad sense as any state of the ideological activeness of the ruling class, the intensification of its information, propaganda and ideological activity, which was caused by the aggravation of the class struggle in connection with certain sociopolitical and economic problems or others, which were at the center of attention of the public. In the narrow sense as the means of organizing propaganda. The latter interpretation of the mentioned concept is especially important when analyzing the foreign propaganda activity of the imperialist states.

Taking into account the inadequate elaboration of this concept in the literature and the need for its operationalization during sociological studies, we propose the following definition: a foreign propaganda campaign is a set of coordinated ideological and social psychological actions, which are carried out by the imperialist states by means of the mass media and are subordinate to the achievement of specific political goals.

Anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns are one of the variants of antisocialist campaigns, and they are aimed primarily at discrediting our social and state system. It should be borne in mind that their specific content, intensity and methods depend on many circumstances, and first of all on the acuteness of the political conflicts on the international arena during one historical interval of time or another, on the real balance of forces. The main tasks of anti-Soviet campaigns are directly determined by the foreign policy doctrine adopted in the imperialist world (and first of all in the United States), which reflects the strategic goals of the dominant monopolistic groups at the given historical stage. For example, during the Cold War these goals were determined by the concepts of the "repulsion," "containment" of communism, the "liberation" of the East European countries and so forth. During this period (especially after the establishment of NATO) the founding principles of the coordination of the foreign policy propaganda of the imperialist countries, which were developed and defined more precisely subsequently, were also laid down. The activity on the coordination of foreign propaganda actions was especially stepped up during the years of the preparation for and holding of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, when the NATO headquarters elaborated the tactics of the delegations of the western countries belonging to this bloc and assigned roles among them. Precisely on the instructions of NATO humanitarian

questions (the so-called third basket) were used as an instrument of pressure on the socialist countries.

Thus, the study of the prevailing foreign policy doctrine is the /first stage/ in boldface of all the work on the sociological study of anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns. The comparative analysis of the basic documents, program statements and declarations, which are drafted by the leading western powers, are the basis for it.

The /second stage/ in boldface involves the content analysis of materials of the press, radio broadcasts and other texts, which makes it possible to distinguish the main theoretical assumptions (theses, arguments), which are disseminated by the mass media of the imperialist states, and to determine on this basis the set of problems which constitute the content of the propaganda campaign. One of the tasks of this stage is the analysis of the propaganda versions of some problems or others, that is, their specific interpretation, which is designed for the perception of a specific sociodemographic group of the population (the target audience), as well as the methods of disseminating the information. It is also important to identify the organizations (centers, services) which are participating in the preparation and conducting of the campaign. This makes it possible to comprehend more thoroughly the intentions of its organizers and to identify the sources and nature of the information being used by them.

The content of the /third stage/ in boldface of the sociological study of the propaganda campaign consists in the advancement of hypotheses concerning the attitude toward it of different sociodemographic groups of the population (the reaction of public opinion to it) and their verification (most often by surveying respondents and experts). At present our ideological opponent has gained considerable experience in conducting propaganda campaigns, and serious importance is attached to the consideration of the social, psychological and other features of different groups of the population of those countries against which these campaigns are conducted.

The /fourth stage/ in boldface is the elaboration on the basis of the data obtained during the study of recommendations on the increase of the effectiveness of the counterpropaganda activity of the mass media of our country.

A study conducted in the indicated order also makes it possible to solve the problem of the classification of propaganda campaigns, which is of not only theoretical, but also great practical importance. In the literature, classification is broken down into empirical and theoretical classification 4. We will speak precisely about the theoretical classification, which makes it possible to give a more or less accurate description of the attributes of social phenomena on the basis of specific concepts and to distinguish as a result of the analysis of primary sociological information as attributes of the same type (or attributes close in content and form) certain variants of them or others. Thus, the data on the goals and content orientation of campaigns make it possible to divide the latter into campaigns being conducted against all the countries of the socialist community, against individual socialist countries, against a part of the population of one country or another (young people, the intelligentsia, the representatives of some one nationality and so on).

Depending on the duration the campaigns can be long-term campaigns, which do not subside over several years (for example, the campaign "in defense of human rights"), intermediate-term campaigns, which are conducted over several months (campaigns timed to coincide with anniversaries), and short-term campaigns, which last only a



few weeks or even days in connection with the demarches of one anti-Soviet or another, someone's trip abroad and so forth.

Some researchers, in characterizing the propaganda campaigns conducted in the West, speak about so-called trial campaigns [5] which are undertaken to ascertain the possible reaction of public opinion to certain political measures or others. It is also possible to group with them some short-term campaigns which are aimed against the socialist countries for the purpose of determining their attitude toward a political or ideological action which is being readied.

The characterization of the propaganda campaigns of imperialism is also possible with respect to a number of other attributes.

Sociological studies in the area in question provide the necessary material not only for quantitative and qualitative characterizations of anti-Soviet campaigns, but also for forecasting possible changes in their organization and the methods of conducting them. In the literature on the forecasting of processes in the ideological sphere four groups of methods are described: 1) methods based on analogy, 2) analytical methods which are based on photographic information, 3) expert appraisals, 4) modeling [6]. As experience shows, the methods of expert appraisals are the most practicable in the forecasting of propaganda campaigns. Lecturers, propagandists, journalists and other ideological workers can perform the role of experts.

The forecasting of changes in this area acquires particular importance on the level of the organization of anticipatory counterpropaganda. To anticipate the class enemy in casting light on some phenomenon or another, to explain it convincingly from the stand of Marxist-Leninist social science, to inform the audience about possible ideological ventures are the most important prerequisites of success in this work.

The results of the studies made in recent years of anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns make it possible, first, to ascertain the features of the organization and conducting of the latter, which characterize their place and role in the entire system of imperialist propaganda; second, to determine their tactical hierarchy, the specific methods and distinctive traits which are characteristic of individual campaigns; third, to evaluate the effectiveness of counterpropaganda measures.

During the second half of the 1970's long-term, large-scale campaigns held a dominant position in all the foreign policy propaganda of the United States and the other NATO member countries, and the activity of their propaganda services in conducting anti-Soviet campaigns became more coordinated. The strengthening of cooperation occurred especially intensively with respect to the coordination of the work of the mass media, Sovietological centers and the special services of the imperialist states. The main role in preparing and implementing ideological measures belongs precisely to these organizations.

It is important to note that the significance of special services not only in the inspiration, but also in the information support of propaganda campaigns has increased. Thus, in the United States precisely the CIA performed the role of the main supplier of "data" on "violations" in the USSR of human rights, "repressions" with respect to "dissidents," military preparations which had ostensibly taken place, "crisis" phenomena in the economy and so forth. The increase of the activity of the special services is leaving a mark on propaganda campaigns and is

lending them the nature of actions of psychological warfare. In attempting to determine the degree of effectiveness of the campaigns (their audience, the existence of interest, the attitude of various sociodemographic groups toward them and so on) /77/, the special services enlist scientists (including sociologists), journalists and diplomats in this work.

Foreign radio broadcasting is the main means of conducting anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns, on which the main emphasis is placed. The ruling circles of the imperialist countries devote unremitting attention to its organization and improvement. The steady increase of allocations, the increase of the technical capacities of the radio stations and the reorganizations carried out periodically attest to this.

The campaign "in defense of human rights" in the USSR and the other socialist countries held the dominant position among the coordinated and interconnected anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns during the post-Helsinki period. Its goals stemmed directly from the foreign policy aims of the American administration, which were supported by the other NATO member states, the ruling circles of which set themselves the task to use detente for interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and for exerting pressure on them in order to compel them to make political and ideological concessions. The overall political aim was as follows: "to sell detente more expensively to the communists," to force the USSR and the other socialist countries "to liberalize their society," that is, to bring it closer to the western model. Among the immediate goals of the campaign "in defense of human rights" it is necessary to distinguish the following ones: to convince world public opinion of the violations of the Helsinki accords by the Soviet Union; to sow doubt in the consciousness of Soviet citizens about the political and social values of socialism; to arouse discontent among specific groups of the population (primarily the intelligentsia) and to attempt on this basis to create domestic opposition to the socialist system; to create an atmosphere of tension in international relations; to arouse the dissatisfaction of the believing portion of the population with its position in society; to form a loyal attitude (first of all among young people) toward the norms and standards of the bourgeois way of life; to divert the attention of the public from gross mass violations of human rights in the capitalist countries.

One of the features of this campaign, which concerns the methods and means of conducting it, consisted in the fact that its initiators with the aid of the special services readied something like a "fifth column" within the socialist countries. This role was assigned to the so-called dissidents--a wretched handful of renegades who had taken the path of activity hostile to the socialist state and had violated its laws and norms of public life. The dissemination of bourgeois ideas and views, on the one hand, and the preparation of materials, which discredit the socialist system, of various kinds of "evidence" about "violations" of legality, the "non-observance" of the Helsinki accords and so forth, on the other, were a part of their task. The Solzhenitsyn Fund was specially set up for the material support of the dissidents, while the International Research Center of Samizdat--the Archive of Samizdat in Munich was set up for the purpose of the centralized use of the "information" supplied by them.

The ideological and political ventures concerned primarily the problem of the rights and freedoms of the individual under the conditions of socialism, the problem of providing the population with information ("the free flow of information"), the

problem of emigration and several others, and their interpretation, which is unacceptable to the socialist countries, was imposed and absurd demands were advanced. In essence this was an attack on detente under the cover of various verbal declarations and admissions of its importance and necessity. Subsequently the indirect repudiation of detente was replaced by its direct repudiation, the renewal of the arms race and the attempt to return to the times of the Cold War.

A set of propaganda versions intended for specific strata and groups of the population was elaborated on the basis of slanderous materials which were gathered by various means. Their practical use was made dependent upon the "addressee," the general thesis of "violations of human rights" in the USSR was made more specific by means of specially selected "lines of reasoning" with allowance made for the social, national and age peculiarities of the potential audience. Thus, the "violation of rights" was presented to the artistic intelligentsia as "the limitation of the freedom of creative work," to the population of the union republics as their "Russification," the "leveling" of cultural originality, to believers as "persecution" on the part of the authorities and so on.

Not only and even not so much the workers of the mass media as the staff members of such research centers as the RAND Corporation, Columbia University, the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown, Harvard University, the Ford Foundation, the Institute of Political Research in Paris, the London School of Economics and the Italian Institute of International Relations engaged in the elaboration of these versions. These and many other centers specializing in the study of the USSR attempted to lend anti-Soviet propaganda a "scientific" nature and to provide it with "lines of reasoning" and "proofs."

The Soviet people in their absolute majority condemned this propaganda campaign, which took the form of numerous letters to radio, television and newspapers and speeches at meetings of labor collectives. Sociological probes of public opinion, which were conducted in a number of cities of the country--Uzhgorod, Sochi, Dmitrov--also confirmed this. It was established that all categories of the employed population (including students of the upper grades) correctly understand the goals of anti-Soviet campaigns. The majority of those surveyed have the necessary reserve of information, which makes it possible to correctly evaluate the political intent of such measures and to examine independently the content of certain propaganda versions or others.

At the same time these studies showed the inadequate information of various groups of the population with respect to a number of questions of interest to them. Some respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the work of the domestic mass media and means of propaganda (first of all effectiveness, the consideration of the demands and interests of the readers or listeners and in a number of instances the form of presentation of the materials). This circumstance should be taken into account first of all in the work of television and radio. The intrusion of sources of an orientation hostile to socialism into the information space of the country is making new demands on the quality of their work. It is necessary to take into account the peculiarities of the perception of information by different sociodemographic groups, as well as the degree of satisfaction of the information needs of all categories of the population. Lecturers and propagandists, who have great opportunities for the timely information of workers and the exposure of any attempts of the class enemy to blacken socialist reality, can and should do much.



The social subject, which produces and disseminates the information that sustains anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns, and the social subject, which comes into contact with it, are objectively in a state of class antagonism. However, the realization of this antagonism can be complicated due to inadequate political experience, the disguised nature of hostile propaganda, the externally objective form of its presentation and so on. In the opinion of experts, not only a certain level of political culture, but also a knowledge of the activity of the institutes specializing in anti-socialist propaganda are necessary for understanding the class hostility of the information being disseminated by the ideological opponent. The information of this sort, which reveals the mechanism of the preparation and dissemination of hostile information and the methods of work of the corresponding services of the imperialist countries, should become accessible to the entire adult population. This will help to eliminate cases of political naivete and indifference, which are still prevalent among some groups of the population, especially young people.

In recent years new forms for increasing the effectiveness of counterpropaganda have appeared. Thus, special groups for the study of the channel of the penetration of bourgeois propaganda, to which scientists and experienced party workers belong, have been set up in a number of party committees. The regular study of the broadcasts of bourgeois radio stations and the elaboration of practical suggestions are a part of their task. The results of such an analysis, as well as the regular study of the ideological situation, public opinion and the changes in it are enabling many party organizations of Moscow, Leningrad, Belorussia, Georgia, the Ukraine, the Baltic republics and other regions to study ideological processes more seriously and specifically and to plan the implementation of counterpropaganda measures /8/.

Under present conditions, when the ideological struggle has achieved an unprecedented scale and sharpness, the constant study and dissemination of the positive experience, which was brought about by the creative alliance of ideological workers and scientists, are extremely valuable and function as one of the most important conditions of the further increase of the effectiveness of all propaganda and counterpropaganda work.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1981, p 9.
2. "Osnovy kommunisticheskoy propagandy" /The Principles of Communist Propaganda/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1978, p 6.
3. Denisov, A. V., "The Structure and Organizational Principles of Propaganda Campaigns," "Voprosy teorii i metodov ideologicheskoy raboty" /Questions of the Theory and Methods of Ideological Work/, issue 10, Moscow, Mysl', 1979, pp 195-216.
4. "Rabochaya kniga sotsiologa" /Workbook of the Sociologist/, Moscow, Nauka, 1976, p 484.
5. Keyzerov, N. M., "Ideologicheskiye diversii" /Ideological Diversions/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1979, p 36.



6. Zhuravlev, G. T., "On the Forecasting of Processes in the Ideological Sphere," "Voprosy teorii i metodov ideologicheskoy raboty" /Questions of the Theory and Methods of Ideological Work/, issue 12, Moscow, Mysl', 1980, pp 183-184.
7. Bannov, V. and Vachnadze, G., "Chuzhiye golosa v efire" /Alien Voices in the Air/, Moscow, Molodaya gvardiya, 1981, p 143; Tsvigun, S., "Subversive Actions Are the Weapon of Imperialism," KOMMUNIST, No 4, 1980, p 115.
8. Kilimnik, Yu. V., "Party Leadership Is the Most Important Prerequisite of the Increase of the Effectiveness of the Struggle Against Alien Ideological Influences," "Voprosy teorii i metodov ideologicheskoy raboty," issue 12, Moscow, Mysl', 1980, p 267.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

DIALECTICS OF THE INTERCONNECTION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN PLANNING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 29-41

/Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Nikolayevich Rutkevich, chief of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806/17

## MIGRATION OF THE POPULATION BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE VILLAGE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 42-52

/Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Tat'yana Ivanovna Zaslavskaya, chief of the Department of Social Problems of the Institute of Economics and the Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Lyudmila Vasil'yevna Korel', junior research associate of the Department of Social Problems of the Institute of Economics and the Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ In the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th congress the need for the elaboration of a food program, of which the further development of agriculture of the country, the increase of the output of agricultural products, as well as the continuation of the policy of gradually overcoming the substantial differences between the city and the countryside should be the basis, is named among the urgent tasks of the socio-economic development of the country. The successful accomplishment of these tasks in many ways is determined by the nature of the redistribution of manpower resources and the population between the city and the village.

In the USSR during the period from 1970 to 1979 nearly 3.1 million people annually moved from the village to the city; approximately 1.5 million migrated from the city to rural areas; the net loss of population by the village and the gain of the city were thus 1.6 million people.

The scale, intensity and results of rural-urban migration are evaluated differently in Soviet literature. Thus, when comparing the development of the USSR with other industrially developed states the comparatively large size of the rural population in our country, as a rule, is indicated. From this the need for the intensification of the migration from the countryside to the city is inferred. At the same time the opinions are frequently stated that its current rate considerably exceeds the need of cities for manpower and has an adverse influence on the development of many rural regions.

On what scale will the migration of the rural population to cities promote both the efficient use of the manpower resources of the city and the village and the successful overcoming of the social differences between these types of settlements?

Apparently, it is possible to consider the intensity of rural-urban migration optimal only if it, while promoting the reinforcement of the manpower of the city, does not have an adverse influence on the fulfillment of the main functions of the countryside. There should be grouped with them: the food and raw material function (the provision of society with the required amount of foodstuffs and with industrial raw materials), the social-spatial function (the settling and economic development of a territory) and the demographic function (the assurance of the expanded natural reproduction of the rural population) /2, pp 32-56; 3, Chapter 1; 4, pp 45-53/.

Let us examine the influence of migration on the food and raw material (production) function. During the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan as compared with the preceding five-year plan the increase of labor productivity in agriculture was 15 percent /1, p 108/. Is it possible to draw from here the conclusion of the desirability to reduce the size of the population living in the countryside? It seems to us that it is not possible, since this would adversely affect a large number of indicators of the economic development of the country. First, under the conditions of a shortage of some types of foodstuffs the increase of labor productivity in agriculture should be used not for the purposes of reducing the number of workers, but for the purposes of increasing the output of products. As is known, the greater the outflow of manpower from agriculture is, the greater the proportion of capital investments being spent on offsetting it and the smaller the proportion being spent on the increase of the amount of output and, consequently, the lower the effectiveness of the capital investments in the sector from the standpoint of the increase of the production volume. Second, the industrialization of agriculture, its integration with industry and the social progress of the village promote the development of its infrastructure: transportation, trade, construction, the sectors of the nonproductive sphere, for which manpower is also needed. Third, labor commuting between the city and the countryside grows, the proportion of the rural population employed in cities increases accordingly. Finally, the proportion of the able-bodied population studying with leave from work also increases.

The enumerated trends to a considerable extent offset the increase of the productivity of agricultural labor, so that the need of the countryside for manpower resources remains stable. For the successful fulfillment by the village of its food and raw material function the balance of migration to cities should exceed by only a little the level of the nature growth of the population, that is, on the average for the USSR it should be only 1 percent a year.

Let us turn to the social-spatial function. Its realization presumes first of all the existence of a developing network of settlements. The latter in turn can be stable only with a specific population density. Studies show that in regions with a comparatively sparse settlement of the territory the average number of inhabitants of the village does not drop below 300-350, since too small settlements under these conditions are not viable. At the same time the stable development of interrelated systems of settlements is achieved with the existence of not less than 20-25 rural population centers per 1,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Hence it follows that for the successful fulfillment of the social-spatial function the density of the rural population should be not less than 7-8 people per km<sup>2</sup> of the inhabited portion of the territory.

The density of the rural population of the USSR fluctuates sharply by individual regions. In the valleys of Central Asia it comes to 150-200 people per km<sup>2</sup>, in Moldavia--70 people per km<sup>2</sup>, the Ukraine and Belorussia--20-30 people per km<sup>2</sup>,



in the Baltic republics--10-20 people per km<sup>2</sup>, while in Siberia, the Far East and Kazakhstan it comes to not more than 3-5 people per km<sup>2</sup> of inhabited territory. In the regions being developed not the decrease, but the increase of the number of rural inhabitants and the increase of the density of settlement and the degree of inhabitancy of a territory meet the interests of society.

The performance of the demographic function requires not so much a specific size as a "normal" demographic composition of the population, a balance of the number of men and women of productive age (especially 18-35 years of age). Excessive migration to cities distorts the natural structure of the rural population and upsets the proportions between generations and sexes. Such a situation is observed in the majority of region with a strong migratory outflow of the population. Hence, from this point of view it is also desirable for rural-urban migration to be relatively moderate.

What has been said leads to the conclusion that during the 1970's the rate of migration of the rural population to cities was greater than was necessary for the intensive socio-economic development of the village. In the future society is also not interested in the demographic "shrinkage" of the countryside. In this connection during the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans it is desirable to decrease the balance of rural-urban migration to approximately two-thirds: from 1.5 to 1 million people a year. Moreover, the directions of the changes in migration should differ for the regions of the country. In some regions it is necessary to decrease the outflow of inhabitants of the countryside to cities, in others it should be increased. Let us examine this question in more detail.<sup>1</sup>

The indicator of the average annual relative balance of migration of the rural population of 130 oblasts, krais, autonomous and union republics during 1970-1976 is the basis for the calculations cited below. On the basis of its values an automatic classification of the regions into five groups according to the criterion of the minimum intraclass variance was made.

There were assigned to the regions of class I 40 regions in which the relative balance of migration during the period in question was on the average -3.6 percent a year; to the regions of class II--33 regions in which it was equal to -2.5 percent; to class III--24 regions in which it was -1.7 percent; to class IV--25 regions with a balance of migration of -0.8 percent, and to class V--8 regions with an average annual balance of migration of +0.7 percent.

The regions of class I form a zone which encompasses the majority of regions of the Nonchernozem Zone, the Central Chernozem area, a portion of Belorussia, the Volga River region, the Urals and Siberia. The migratory outflow of the population to cities here is so great that it is literally "emptying" the countryside, making the realization of its social functions difficult. In some regions of this class the output of agricultural products is decreasing, the system of rural settlement is contracting, the settlements are being subdivided, while the natural growth of the population in the countryside is being replaced by depopulation. The factors which caused this situation are diverse: there are here the inadequate attention to the socio-economic development of the Russian village during the 1950's and 1960's, the great saturation of the European part of the USSR with large cities, the need to enlist hands for the development of new regions of Siberia and the absence among the Russian population of language barriers, which increases their mobility. The

overall effect of these factors made urgent the problem of decreasing the outflow of rural inhabitants to cities in the indicated group of regions.

The regions of class II form several zones which border on the regions of class I from different sides. A number of oblasts of Belorussia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Pskovskaya, Kalininskaya and Vladimirskaia Oblasts, the national republics of the Volga River region, the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan and Chitinskaya Oblast belong here. The intensity of the outflow of the rural population here is great, but not as significant as in the regions of class I. The reasons for migration are approximately the same as in the first case, but their effect is moderated either by the peculiarities of the national composition of the population, by the lesser development of the cities or the depletion of the demographic resources of the village during the preceding period.

Class III includes 11 oblasts of the Ukraine, as well as several autonomous republics of the RSFSR. The Russian regions are represented by Primorskiy Kray, Tyumenskaya, Astrakhanskaya and Rostovskaya Oblasts. Favorable living conditions of the rural population, a developed network of small and intermediate cities and intensive labor, cultural and everyday contacts of the city and the village distinguish the majority of regions of this class. The rate of decrease of the rural population here is quite moderate, the demographic situation as a whole is favorable.

Moscow Oblast, Estonia, Latvia, Moldavia, the southern oblasts of the Ukraine, Krasnodarskiy and Stavropol'skiy Krays, the republics of Transcaucasia, the autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus, the southern and western parts of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Amurskaya Oblast and Khabarovskiy Kray belong to class IV. A high level of development of the social infrastructure of the village, the proximity of large cities, good natural and climatic conditions and a comparatively low cost of living are typical of these regions. Accordingly they are centers of the attraction of the population from other regions of the country. While giving up a portion of their own inhabitants to the cities, these areas almost completely offset the loss by means of migrants from other regions, so that the size of their rural population is increasing.

Three types of regions should be assigned to class V. Leningrad and Alma-Atinskaya Oblasts, which border on cities of the capital type, make up the first type; Murmanskaya, Kamchatskaya and Magadanskaya Oblasts, which are sites of the organized settlement of migrants, make up the second type; the republics of Central Asia (except Kirghizia), which are distinguished by the low territorial mobility of the rural population, make up the third type. The regions of this class have a positive balance of migration; in them the size of the rural population is increasing rapidly.

To what extent do the formed regional differences in the intensity of the outflow of the rural population conform to the interests of society as a whole and promote the successful fulfillment by the countryside of its functions? To answer this question let us first of all specify what directions of the redistribution of the population can be recognized as useful in this respect.

From the point of view of the food and raw material function the shift of the population from labor-abundant to labor-scarce agricultural regions is desirable, since the former use manpower resources inefficiently, while the latter use land resources and equipment inefficiently.

The realization of the social-spatial function of the countryside presumes the migration of inhabitants from long inhabited parts of the country to regions of new agricultural development, where the network of settlement so far is sparse and therefore not too stable and it is difficult for a person to hold his ground in relations with nature. With reference to the demographic function it is desirable for the migratory outflow of the population to take place primarily from regions with a high birth rate and a progressive age structure of the population and for the influx to be directed to regions in which the demographic structure of the population and its natural reproduction have been upset.

Such in the most general outlines is the "standard model" of the regional migration of the rural population. In order to ascertain to what extent it corresponds to the real migration, let us analyze the correlative relations between the relative balance of migration of the rural population of 130 regions, on the one hand, and the indicators of the supply of agriculture with labor, the development of intra-urban territories and the demographic development of the village, on the other.

Not having direct data on the supply of the village with labor in certain regions of the country or others, we judged it by means of indirect indicators: 1) the degree of employment of the able-bodied population of the village in social production; 2) the average number of workdays per worker of agriculture in a year; 3) the productivity of the use of land. Here it was taken into account that in labor-scarce regions the proportion of the working population is greater, the number of workdays per employed person is larger, while the yield of products per hectare of farmland is lower.

The analysis showed: the rate of the migratory outflow of the population in practice is not connected with the first two indicators (the correlation coefficients are  $r_1 = 0.09$  and  $r_2 = 0.05$ ), the connection with the third indicator is significant ( $r_3 = 0.41$ ), but its directivity is contrary to the standard model. In other words, a high outflow of the population is observed in those regions where each hectare of land accounts for the least number of workers, while the yield of products is minimal. The quite close correlative relation reflects not the dependence of migration on the level of the provision of regions with labor, but on the contrary: the influence of the unplanned movement of the population on the increase of the non-uniformity of the supply of production with manpower. In regions with a significant outflow of inhabitants the provision of agriculture with labor is low; in places where the population is increasing, there is a surplus of personnel.

The degree of population and economic development of the regions of the country being compared was estimated by a comprehensive indicator which was calculated on the basis of 11 special indicators (the density of the urban and rural population, the density of the network of cities and rural settlements, roads and railroads, communications lines and so on). It turned out that there is a tendency for the rural population to move from densely populated to sparsely populated regions, but it is extremely weak ( $r_4 = 0.15$ ). At the same time some of the least populated regions (some oblasts of Kazakhstan and the north) are characterized by an influx of migrants, while another portion (the southern part of Western Siberia and a considerable portion of Eastern Siberia) is characterized by a very strong migratory outflow.

In the densely populated regions of the country the picture is also very contradictory: whereas the center of the RSFSR is intensively losing rural inhabitants, the



republics of Transcaucasia, Moldavia, the Northern Caucasus and the southern oblasts of the Ukraine are attracting new people. The lack of an appreciable connection between the degree of development of the different regions and the directions of the migration of the population leads to the conclusion that the latter for the present still poorly promotes the planned development and habitation of the territory of the country.

The values of the majority of the demographic indicators are closely connected with the balance of migration. The regions with a large migratory outflow are notable for a higher proportion of the population of older age ( $r_5 = 0.45$ ), in the composition of which women in turn predominate ( $r_6 = 0.62$ ). Accordingly the birth rate of the population is low here ( $r_7 = 0.35$ ), the workers of the village have a low level of education ( $r_8 = 0.52$ ). The content of these relations is determined not so much by the influence of the demographic situation in the region on migration as, on the contrary, by the influence of its results on the composition of the population. The increase of the proportion of inhabitants of older ages, the disturbance of the balance of the sexes, the decline of the birth rate and the slow increase of the educational level of rural inhabitants are natural consequences of their excessive migration to cities.

Thus, for the present it cannot be asserted that the regional peculiarities of the movement of the rural population stem mainly from the needs of the economy of the corresponding region; on the contrary, the formed migration "imposes" on each region specific conditions of development.

The individual act of resettlement, which is based on the voluntary decision of the family or individual to change the place of residence, is the "unit" of the migratory process. The desire of rural inhabitants to move to the city ripens, as a rule, gradually. Here a general notion of the advantages of the urban way of life over the rural way of life first of all forms for them, and then a justified decision on moving is made under the influence of specific circumstances.<sup>2</sup> What are the leading reasons for migration?

The majority of the working population of the Siberian village is oriented toward the already established way of life. The opinion that rural life is better than urban life was expressed by 65 percent of those surveyed; 17 percent of the respondents gave an indefinite answer ("each is good in its own way," "I do not know," "I hardly know what to answer"). The prevalence of the positive attitude toward the rural way of life also appears in the fact that its advantages are emphasized by rural inhabitants on the average two times more often than its shortcomings (respectively 148 and 78 responses per 100 people surveyed). The most "staunch" supporters of the countryside are the 28 percent of those surveyed, who responded that in rural life they "like everything." Among the remainder of the population the overall preference of rural life is combined with a critical attitude toward individual aspects of it.

The population assigns to the positive aspects of the rural way of life first of all the closeness to nature (45 percent of those surveyed indicated this), the easy and calm rhythm of life (41 percent), the possibility of keeping a private plot (15 percent), the peculiarities of agricultural labor (6 percent). Nearly one-fourth of those surveyed noted that they are used to the rural way of life.

A negative assessment of the population was received by: the limited supply of the countryside with foodstuffs and industrial goods (16 percent of those surveyed), the shortcomings in the operation of institutions of culture (11 percent), the high labor-intensity of daily life and the private plots (10 percent), the outward unattractiveness of settlements and their poor provision with amenities (9 percent), the remoteness of social and cultural centers (5 percent), unsatisfactory housing conditions (4 percent). At the same time the proportion of people preparing in the next 2 or 3 years to migrate from the village to the city (5 percent) is much less than the number of "theoretical" supporters of the city (18 percent).

Thus, the inhabitants of the countryside rate quite highly the main type-forming traits of the rural way of life, but at the same time treat quite critically those aspects of it, which depend on the level of the socio-economic development of the village.

The structure of the motives of migration differs from the structure of the motives of a critical attitude toward the village. Their comparison makes it possible to distinguish four groups of motives: a) a critical attitude which is not reflected in the motives of potential migration (the unattractiveness of the appearance of the village, the lack of improvement of the streets, mud); b) motives which are connected more weakly with the grounds for migratory intentions than with "abstract" criticism of rural life (shortcomings in the supply of goods, poor personal service, a low level of operation of institutions of culture); c) the motives of potential migration, which are not connected with a critical attitude toward rural life (the desire to live with one's children and other relatives, the aspiration to return to one's native region or to a former place of residence); d) motives which for the substantiation of migratory intentions are of greater importance than for the criticism of rural life (the small choice of workplaces, unfavorable working conditions, the impossibility of receiving a specialized education, the difficulty and at times the impossibility of keeping private plots, unsuitable climatic conditions, the unhealthy social psychological climate).

The first two groups of motives have almost no influence on the migration of the population, the third is of a familial or personal nature and does not depend on the development of the village. The last group has a strong influence on migration and at the same time in principle is already controllable today. Therefore, in the planning of the socio-economic development of the countryside it merits special attention.

The comparison of the motives of potential migration of rural inhabitants according to the materials of surveys of 1967 and 1977 attests that their structure as a whole is quite stable, although it is possible to trace some changes in it. The dissatisfaction with working conditions, the content of labor or wages holds the leading place (23.2 percent of those surveyed in 1967 and 20.7 percent of those surveyed in 1977 indicated this). The proportion of those surveyed, who wish to migrate in order to increase their level of education (11 percent), virtually did not change; the level of importance of familial and personal motives remains at approximately the same level (about 30 percent).

The main changes in the structure of the motives over the 10 years consist in the following. First, the proportion of statements containing a negative assessment of the rural way of life as a whole declined from 18 to 8 percent. Second, the proportion of those dissatisfied with the level of wages decreased to nearly one-third

(the proportion of those dissatisfied with working conditions and the content of labor increased accordingly). At the same time the number of respondents, who indicated the difficulties and necessity of keeping private plots, increased considerably, while the proportion of motives connected with an unhealthy social psychological climate in the labor collectives (alcoholism, the violation of the norms of the law and morals, cases of favoritism and so on) increased twofold.

Thus, the accelerated development of agriculture is leading to substantial changes in the consciousness and behavior of inhabitants of the countryside. The attitude of people toward rural life is improving, the intensity of potential migration is decreasing, the structure of migratory motives is being rearranged in conformity with the increase of needs. For the purposes of the further decrease of the migration of the rural population of Siberia to cities there should be considered as the priority directions of the social development of the village: the convergence of the content and conditions of agricultural labor with industrial labor; the creation of more favorable conditions for rural young people to obtain a specialized education; the utmost increase of the assistance to inhabitants of the countryside in keeping private plots; the improvement of the moral and psychological relations in labor collectives. The urgency of these directions of the social development of the modern village were emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress.

Let us examine the main trends of the change of the rate and structure of the migration of the population between the city and the countryside. The present methods of forecasting social processes reduce primarily to the extrapolation of long-term trends onto the future. However, during the study of the exchange of the population between the city and the village the use of such an approach runs into considerable difficulties. The point is that the balance of migration of the population from villages to cities over a long time (from the early 1960's to the mid-1970's) increased slowly but steadily, while in 1976 it unexpectedly decreased sharply and in the next 3 years remained almost unchanged.

In Western Siberia this trend, for example, appeared back in the early 1970's: during the Ninth Five-Year Plan as compared with the Eighth Five-Year Plan the balance of the rural-urban exchange of the population decreased considerably. The intensity of the average annual departure of the rural population for cities (disregarding the counterflows) in a representative group of rural settlements of Novosibirskaya Oblast decreased from 55.9 percent in 1967-1971 to 28.6 percent in 1972-1976.

The decline of migration from villages to cities is explained, on the one hand, by the decrease of the attractive force of the city and, on the other, by the increase of the appeal of the village. The former is connected with the fact that the 10th Five-Year Plan was characterized by a high natural growth of the able-bodied population, the number of workplaces in cities increased at an average rate. Therefore they were filled for their most part by urban young people and the need for an influx of hands from the village decreased.

The increase of the appeal of the village stems from its rapid socio-economic development and urbanization, the increase of the income of the rural population, extensive cultural and general construction, the industrialization of labor, on the one hand, and the emergence in the city of difficulties with the supply of meat, milk and other goods, on the other.



Apparently, both explanations are correct, but the question is which group of reasons is more important. If the former one is, during the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans a sharp increase of the migration of the population from villages to cities should be expected, since the growth of the able-bodied population will be exceptionally low. If the latter is, it is possible to count on a further decrease of the balance of the exchange of the population between the city and the countryside, since the rate of social development of the latter is high.

In order to ascertain the laws of the influence of the socio-economic progress of the village on the changes of rural-urban migration, it is expedient to analyze its peculiarities in settlements which differ in the level of urbanization.<sup>3</sup>

Population centers where, as a rule, small brigades and farms are located, are assigned to class I; the sphere of consumer service here is only just forming; the number of inhabitants on the average does not exceed 150-200. The settlements of this class are qualified by us as unurbanized.

The settlements of class II are more developed; several sectors of service, which, however, are represented only by the simplest units, operate in them. An elementary school, a paramedical and obstetric station, a small club and a combined store usually exist here. The majority of these population centers are the centers of departments of sovkhoses, small railroad stations, villages of timber managements and so forth. The average number of inhabitants is 400-500. The settlements of this class are regarded as weakly urbanized.

Class III unites the largest and the socially and economically most developed settlements which have on the average more than 1,000 inhabitants. As a rule, they are the central farmsteads of sovkhoses or kolkhoses, villages in which soviets of people's deputies are located, settlements with livestock complexes, large settlements of transportation specialization and "bedroom settlements" of large cities. They form the support network of rural settlement, which serves the inhabitants of the surrounding territories. The 8-year or secondary schools, divisional or rayon hospitals, rural vocational and technical schools, personal service combines, Houses of Culture, movie theaters, department stores, specialized industrial goods stores and so on are concentrated here. We group this class of settlements with urbanized settlements.

The study showed: as the village is urbanized, first, the mobility of the rural population increases, although slowly. Whereas in class I of the settlements the annual turnover of migration is on the average 39.2 percent, in class II it is 40.2 percent and in class III it is 44 percent. The "migratory biographies" of rural inhabitants are also becoming richer. Thus, in 1977 the proportion of people born in cities among the working population of unurbanized settlements was 5.9 percent, in urbanized settlements--11.4 percent; the proportion of those who had lived more than a year in cities was equal respectively to 37.8 and 53.3 percent.

Second, the volume of the counter migratory flows between the city and the village is equalizing. Let us cite the data of 1972-1976. On the average per 100 migrants leaving for cities, in the settlements of class I there were 27 people moving from cities, in settlements of class II--40 and in settlements of class III--82. The regularity appears even more vividly when analyzing the annual balance of migration. With respect to the average size of the population in unurbanized settlements it

is equal to 22 percent, in weakly urbanized settlements--18 percent and in urbanized settlements--5 percent.

In urbanized settlements the annual rate of departure of the population for the city (24.4 percent) is one-fifth less than in unurbanized settlements (30.6 percent), while the number of those who have arrived from cities is more than twofold greater (19.6 percent as against 8.6 percent). The migration of the population from villages to cities is determined much more weakly by the level of development of the settlements than is the migration of the urban population to the village. This is explained by the fact that the mobility from villages to cities to a considerable extent is governed by factors which are not connected with the peculiarities and level of development of certain settlements or others. This is a question, for example, of moving for the purpose of obtaining a secondary specialized or higher education, of resettling due to personal and familial reasons and others. The migration of city dwellers primarily to urbanized settlements is a consequence, first, of the developed production sphere of the latter and, second, the favorable working and living conditions.

Unurbanized and weakly urbanized settlements are connected by migratory exchange, primarily with small cities and urban-type settlements (they account for 45 percent of all arrivals from cities as against 21 percent in urbanized settlements). On the other hand, urbanized settlements are connected primarily with large and the largest cities. Thus, the greater the level of urbanization of the rural settlement is, the more actively it is reinforced by the urban population, which in turn promotes further urbanization.

Urbanized settlements receive from cities and at the same time give back to them a population with a high level of education. Among all the migrants from the city (with the exception of school pupils and preschool children) people with a general secondary education in class I of the settlements make up 20 percent, while in class III they make up 42 percent, with a secondary specialized education--respectively 8 and 31 percent. Specialists with a higher education do not go to unurbanized villages at all, while among those who have come to urbanized settlements they make up about 18 percent. Among the people of able-bodied age, who migrate to cities from settlements of class II, 19 percent are specialists with a secondary and higher education, while among migrants from settlements of class III 33 percent are specialists.

Urbanized and unurbanized population centers also differ according to the occupational affiliation of the people heading for the city. Thus, 64 percent of the migrants from unurbanized villages have agricultural occupations (accordingly it is difficult for them to find work in the city). Among migrants from urbanized villages only 33 percent are people with agricultural occupations. Therefore, people who have come from urbanized population centers settle down more easily in cities.

In some types of villages or others the attitude of their inhabitants toward rural life has a great influence on the nature of migration. It is formed under the influence of two factors: the objective living conditions and the peculiarities of the consciousness of the person--his awareness, interests, needs and so on.

As a whole the urbanization of the village increases the attachment of people to the rural way of life and the critical attitude toward the urban way of life. Whereas in settlements of class I the ratio between the people who prefer either

the urban or the rural way of life is 1:2, in settlements of class III it is equal to 1:5. At the same time the improvement of the overall attitude toward the village is taking place against the background of an increase of the satisfaction with some aspects of rural life and a decrease of the satisfaction with others (Table).

Dynamics of the Appraisals of Rural Life Subject to the Degree of Urbanization of Settlements, Percent of Respondents in the Group

| Parameters of appraisal                                       | Settlements |                  |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|
|                                                               | unurbanized | weakly urbanized | urbanized |
| Favorable natural conditions. . . . .                         | 42.5        | 46.3             | 51.3      |
| Calm rhythm of life . . . . .                                 | 28.8        | 30.7             | 47.8      |
| Possibility of keeping private plots. . .                     | 10.8        | 14.7             | 15.3      |
| Difficulties in keeping private plots . .                     | 8.8         | 6.0              | 4.1       |
| Remoteness from administrative and cultural centers . . . . . | 9.9         | 11.8             | 6.6       |
| Unfavorable working conditions. . . . .                       | 17.3        | 11.8             | 9.6       |
| Shortcomings in supply of goods . . . . .                     | 13.7        | 12.6             | 18.0      |
| Low level of public and personal service.                     | 7.9         | 9.1              | 9.4       |
| Nonprovision of settlements with amenities                    | 4.2         | 7.1              | 10.4      |
| Complexity and labor-intensity of daily life. . . . .         | 4.5         | 8.6              | 7.0       |

The data of the table attest that in the eyes of rural inhabitants as the village is urbanized, the value of such circumstances as the closeness to nature, the calm rhythm of life and the existence of the private plot increases. The number of complaints about remoteness from administrative and cultural centers, poor working conditions and large expenditures of time on keeping private plots decreases.

At the same time the strengthening of the critical attitude of the population of urbanized villages toward some aspects of rural life, which was established by surveys, attests, first, to the leading increase of the needs of the people as compared with the changes of the living conditions and, second, to the contradictory and complicated nature of the urbanization of rural life. Indeed, according to statistical data, both trade and other types of service in urbanized settlements are developed more strongly than in unurbanized settlements. Meanwhile there are not fewer, but more complaints in them about the poor organization of life. It is impossible to explain this only by the increase of needs. Apparently, the not always well-considered development of the countryside, when traditionally rural institutions (the private plot, the primarily family raising of children of young age) are curtailed before the forms of social service called upon to replace them (trade, preschool institutions) become widespread, has an effect here.

The change of the motives of potential migration from villages to cities obeys the same law as the change of the attitude toward rural life. In the motives of migration the proportion of opinions about the dislike of the rural way of life as a whole decreases sharply (16 percent in unurbanized settlements as against 5 percent in urbanized settlements); the proportion of aims at obtaining a specialized education declines (from 25 to 7 percent) (since the majority of settlements of class III spatially gravitate toward a city, which facilitates for their inhabitants enrollment in evening or correspondence institutes and tekhnikums). The proportion of the references to the difficulty of keeping private plots decreased from 10.9 to



7.4 percent. This reflects the decline of their role in the income and consumption of the population. The importance of motives which do not depend on the development of the village: the state of health of a person, climatic conditions, the desire to return to one's native area and so forth, is increasing in the reasons for migratory intentions. As the requirements connected with the socio-economic progress of the countryside are met, their role will increase.

At the same time the relative importance of the factor of dissatisfaction with living conditions in the village is great in the motives of potential migration. As in the case with the assessment of rural life, in urbanized villages the relative number of complaints about the poor supply of goods, personal service and the operation of institutions of culture is increasing.

The increase of the number of references to the lack of suitable work is also a peculiarity of the change of the motives of migration. The urbanization of settlements leads to a decrease of the number of people who find no application for their labor; however, for those who end up in such a situation, migration often turns into a necessity.

The analysis of the influence of urbanization on rural-urban migration leads to the conclusion that the appreciable decrease of its balance during the 10th Five-Year Plan is connected with the improvement of living conditions in the village. The results of the study make it possible also to state some opinions concerning what changes in the area of rural-urban migration can be expected in the future.

The degree of territorial mobility of the rural population will apparently increase, which will be reflected both in the increase of the rate of migration between the city and the village and in the complication of the migratory biographies of rural inhabitants and the more frequent moving of some people or others from the city to the village and back.

The rate of migration of rural inhabitants to the cities will, most likely, decrease slowly, the intensity of the counter flow will increase. As a result the exchange of the population between the city and the village will acquire a more or less equivalent nature, its absolute balance will decrease.

Under the influence of the further urbanization of rural areas the role of stage-by-stage moves from villages to urban-type settlements and small cities, and then to larger centers will decrease, the direct migratory ties of the village with large cities will be strengthened.

The level of education of the migrants, who come to the village and leave it, first, will come closer and, second, will increase as compared with the current level, which will facilitate the adaptation of rural migrants in the city and of urban migrants in the village. In the end the enumerated trends will promote the formation of the social homogeneity of society.

As we see, the majority of the predicted changes in the migration of the rural population are of a positive nature. At the same time the named trends are not being brought about by themselves. More than a decade will be needed for the "average" village to achieve the present level of socio-economic development of the support network of settlements. In the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: "Even more



efforts, time and capital will be needed for the improvement of the cultural and living conditions in the village, for overcoming the substantial differences between the city and the countryside" /1, p 53/. But since during this time the city will also not stand still, the urbanization and updating of the village should proceed at an accelerated rate.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The analysis of the problems of the regional differentiation of the migratory outflow of the rural population is based on the data of the collective monograph "Sotsial'no-demograficheskoye razvitiye sela. Regional'nyy analiz" /The Sociodemographic Development of the Village. A Regional Analysis/, by the collective of authors: I. I. Belen'kaya, S. M. Borodkin, T. I. Zaslavskaya, I. B. Muchnik, M. B. Muchnik, Moscow, Statistika, 1980, pp 123-129.
2. The data cited below were obtained as a result of statistical sociological panel studies, which were conducted by the Institute of Economics and the Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1967-1977 in 157 rural settlements of Novosibirskaya Oblast. The group of settlements being studied satisfactorily represents the rural areas of the Western Siberian Region. The methods of the survey and of constructing the sample and the tools of the study are described in the book "Metodologiya i metodika sistemnogo izucheniya sovetskoy derevni" /The Methodology and Method of the Systems Study of the Soviet Village/ /3/.

For ascertaining the mechanisms of the formation of the decision to move the rural inhabitants of Novosibirskaya Oblast were asked the following questions:

a) What life, in our opinion, is better: rural or urban? b) What do you like in rural life? c) What do you not like in rural life? d) Do you intend to move in the next 2 or 3 years to a city or workers' settlement? e) Why do you want to move there?

3. The level of the socio-economic development and urbanization of settlements was measured by a special comprehensive indicator which takes into account the value of 17 special indicators: the rank evaluation of the position of the settlement in the system of administrative and territorial management and intrafarm settlement; the sectorial features of the production and nonproduction spheres of the settlements; the proportion of workers employed in services; special indices of the development of trade, public dining, school, preschool, medical, cultural, personal, transportation, postal and library service. An automatic classification of the settlements according to the three classes subject to the level of urbanization was then made.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1981.
2. Zaslavskaya, T. I., "The Rural Sector of the USSR as an Object of Long-Range Forecasting," "Metodologicheskiye problemy sovremennoy nauki" /Methodological Problems of Modern Science/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1979.

3. "Metodologiya i metodika sistemnogo izucheniya sovetskoy derevni" /The Methodology and Method of the Systems Study of the Soviet Village/, Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1980.
4. "Sotsial'no-demograficheskoye razvitiye sela. Regional'nyy analiz" /The Socio-demographic Development of the Village. A Regional Analysis/, Moscow, Statistika, 1980.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

THE CORRELATION OF CONCEPTS AND VARIABLES IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 53-63

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Gennadiy Semenovich Batygin, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

PARTY AND KOMSOMOL TRAINING

THE COMBINATION OF ONE-MAN MANAGEMENT AND COLLECTIVITY IN THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 64-71

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Docent Feliks Mikhaylovich Rudich/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806/17

## APPLIED RESEARCH

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE DYNAMICS OF LABOR ON THE MOBILITY OF MANPOWER RESOURCES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 72-78

/Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Dmitriy Isaakovich Zyuzin, senior research associate of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems

/Text "Under the conditions of the 1980's," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, "the careful, economical treatment of manpower resources is assuming particular importance. This is a complicated matter which requires the solution of many problems of an economic, technical, social and educational nature" /1, p 41/. An important aspect of the problem is the effective regulation of the processes of migration and the turnover of personnel.

The differentiation of the standard of living and wages (by regions of the country, individual sectors and enterprises), the supply of housing, the nature and content of labor and working conditions are mainly examined when studying the mobility of manpower resources /3-5/. However, inadequate attention is being devoted to the influence of the dynamics of these phenomena on the mobility of manpower resources.

The goal of the article is to show that the degree of mobility of manpower resources is governed not so much by the state of the conditions of the labor activity of an individual at a given moment as by their change in the past and the prospect of change in the future. The examination of the dynamics of labor includes, in particular, the analysis of such factors as the change of occupation by the individual throughout all his labor activity or during some interval of time, the increase or decrease of the level of skills, the replacement of physical labor by mental labor or vice versa, the increase or decrease of the difficulty of labor and others.

Of the enumerated characteristics we will devote the main attention to the difficulty of labor and the skills of the worker. Precisely they to a considerable extent determine the attitude of people toward labor, its nature and content, the pay and, finally, the status of a person in the collective.

The results of a survey made in 1978 of the workers of heavy, light and the food industries of three cities of Altayskiy Kray: Barnaul, Rubtsovsk and Biysk,<sup>1</sup> were used as the empirical basis of the article. The choice of Altayskiy Kray is connected with the need to elaborate measures on the attachment of personnel in the eastern regions of the country in light of the instructions issued by L. I. Brezhnev



during his trip through Siberia and the Far East. The shift of the population and manpower resources to the eastern regions and the creation of the conditions for their attachment are one of the important tasks of the socio-economic policy of the party /1, p 185/.

The degree and diversity of the physical efforts exerted by the worker in the process of labor, its intensity and the nervous and psychological strains are usually included in the concept of the difficulty of labor.<sup>2</sup> We identified substantial differences in the evaluations of the difficulty of labor by categories of respondents (see Table 1). Workers consider their labor more difficult than engineering and technical personnel and employees do. Undoubtedly, the indicated groups used different criteria of evaluation. Whereas for workers it is mainly the degree of physical efforts, for engineering and technical personnel and employees it is the nervous and psychological strains. The criterion of evaluation is important, but it does not have a significant influence on the decision to change one's place of work or residence.

Table 1

Evaluation of the Difficulty of Labor by Workers of Different Skills, Percent

| Category of those surveyed                        | Difficult | Of average difficulty | Not difficult |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Workers of                                        |           |                       |               |
| category 1-2. . . . .                             | 13.6      | 41.0                  | 45.4          |
| category 3-4. . . . .                             | 12.6      | 45.5                  | 41.9          |
| category 5-6. . . . .                             | 10.0      | 44.6                  | 45.4          |
| Engineering and technical personnel and employees |           |                       |               |
| without a specialized education . . . . .         | 2.9       | 14.9                  | 82.2          |
| with a secondary specialized education. . . . .   | 3.1       | 20.8                  | 76.1          |
| with a higher education . . . . .                 | 4.2       | 22.9                  | 72.9          |

The evaluation of the difficulty of labor within the distinguished categories differs subject to the level of skills of those surveyed. Whereas among workers as it increases the difficulty of labor decreases, among engineering and technical personnel and employees, on the contrary, the higher the skills are, the more respondents there are who characterize their labor as difficult.

The change of the difficulty of labor during some interval of time or another is one of the most significant factors which influence the rate and direction of the movement of manpower resources. For the sample as a whole the respondents evaluate the changes in the conditions of their activity in the following manner: 24.2 percent of those surveyed noted that while working at the enterprise their labor became easier, 60 percent--the difficulty of labor did not change, 15.8 percent--labor became more difficult. Thus, it is possible to speak about the general tendency for the difficulty of labor to decrease. This stems first of all from the decrease of the elements of difficult manual labor at the workplaces.

It is impossible at the same time not to direct attention to the considerable number of those surveyed, whose labor became more difficult. Their proportion is approximately the same in heavy, light and the food industries.

The evaluation of the change of the difficulty of labor is differentiated by categories of respondents. The greatest progress is observed among white-collar workers--for 37.0 percent labor became easier, for 52.0 percent changes did not occur and for 11.0 percent labor became more difficult. The labor of workers became relatively easier, here the distribution of those surveyed is as follows: 24.9 percent, 63.6 percent and 11.5 percent. At the same time as compared with workers and employees the labor of engineering and technical personnel became more difficult; the data by groups are as follows: 19.4 percent, 51.0 percent and 29.6 percent.

The cited data of the evaluation of the respondents reflect real changes in the working conditions. The analysis of statistical data shows: the proportion of workers engaged in automated and mechanized labor is steadily increasing and at the same time the number of those employed in manual labor is decreasing, although the rate of this process is not high at all the surveyed enterprises. The introduction of punchcard equipment facilitated the labor of employees. The technical supply, the organization of labor and working conditions of rank and file engineering and technical personnel in recent years have not changed substantially.<sup>3</sup> Given this constant increase of the demands on this category of personnel, this can lead to a decrease of their production activeness.

For industry of the country the problem of the stability of labor collectives is becoming quite acute. The change of the difficulty of labor has a large influence on it. In 1977 the turnover of personnel in the light and food sectors of industry of Altayskiy Kray was 1.5- to 2-fold greater than on the average for the union. The tendency for it to decrease was also very weakly pronounced.

The causes of the turnover at enterprises of Altayskiy Kray have been studied in detail [8] and we will not dwell on their analysis. Let us merely indicate that the wage is one of the most important factors of the turnover of personnel. This conclusion, which was drawn back in the early 1970's, was basically confirmed in our study. Therefore we examined the influence of the difficulty of labor on the decision to change the place of work (as well as residence) in groups which had been equalized with respect to wages.

The study showed: the more difficult labor becomes, the greater the proportion of people who have finally decided to leave the enterprise (see Table 2). Moreover, this relationship is observed in all the categories of those surveyed, which were singled out according to the amount of the wage.

Table 2

Distribution of Those Wishing to Change Their Place of Work Subject to the Change of the Difficulty of Labor, Percent of Those Surveyed in the Given Group

| Wage, rubles                  | Evaluation by respondents of difficulty of labor |                                    |                             | For category as a whole |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
|                               | labor became easier                              | difficulty of labor did not change | labor became more difficult |                         |
| Up to 125. . . . .            | 10.3                                             | 16.5                               | 26.2                        | 15.4                    |
| 125-175. . . . .              | 5.2                                              | 10.0                               | 20.6                        | 10.1                    |
| 176-250. . . . .              | 6.4                                              | 10.5                               | 17.5                        | 10.5                    |
| 251 and more . . .            | 1.8                                              | 8.2                                | 11.1                        | 7.3                     |
| For group as a whole. . . . . | 6.5                                              | 11.2                               | 19.1                        | 11.1                    |

At the same time, according to the obtained data, there is no significant relationship between the potential turnover and the overall evaluation of the difficulty of the job presently being performed. Thus, among the respondents who characterized their labor as difficult, 10.4 percent had firmly resolved to change their place of work, among those who characterized it as of average difficulty--12.2 percent, and not difficult--8.2 percent. The desire to move to a different enterprise, apparently, ripens gradually, if over a long time the working conditions do not improve or even deteriorate.

With the improvement of working conditions a substantial decrease of the turnover is observed in the category of workers with a wage of 175-250 rubles. Among those whose labor did not change or became more difficult, it decreases significantly only in the group with a high level of wages--over 251 rubles. Obviously, the demands of the worker on the level of wages increases as the difficulty of labor increases. At the same time the data attest: the increase of wages with the retention of unfavorable working conditions is at present a very weak factor which stabilizes the turnover.

The creation of favorable working conditions can decrease the turnover of personnel considerably even without a substantial increase of wages. Thus, the study showed that the satisfaction with them is higher, the better the working conditions are. For example, among the respondents whose labor became easier, 34.5 percent are satisfied with the wages, 32.9 percent are dissatisfied; among people whose labor did not change, their proportion is equal respectively to 25.9 and 44.7 percent, while among those whose labor became more difficult, it is equal to 20.9 and 48.9 percent.

Migratory processes to a considerable extent are also governed by the dynamics of the difficulty of labor. Moreover, the effect of this factor in many ways is analogous to the influence on the turnover of personnel: all other things being equal, the more difficult labor becomes, the greater the proportion of those who wish to change their place of residence (see Table 3). This is explained, apparently, by the fact that the change of the difficulty of labor has a very substantial influence on the satisfaction with the main aspects of the life and labor of a person, with its pay and organization and on the whole with work at the enterprise. The easier labor becomes, the smaller the proportion of those dissatisfied with the production situation (see Table 4). It is interesting that this indicator in practice is not connected with the wage. It does not lead to an increase of the satisfaction with a job if the labor becomes more difficult or even remains unchanged. The relationship here is rather an inverse one. Consequently, the aspiration of some managers to attach personnel by means of an increase of wages as compensation for difficult working conditions under present conditions can hardly yield appreciable results.

The dynamics of the difficulty of labor have a significant influence on the direction of migration. For the manpower resources of Altayskiy Kray they are as follows. Of the potential migrants 56.2 percent intend to leave for the European part of the union, 16.8 percent--Central Asia, 7.6 percent--the northern regions of Siberia and the Far East, 19.4 percent--other regions of the country. Moreover, there are significant differences between social groups in this respect. Whereas among workers and employees 49.0 percent intend to leave for the European part of the country, in the group of engineering and technical personnel 73.0 percent intend to.

Table 3

Distribution of Those Wishing to Leave Altayskiy Kray Subject to the Change of the Difficulty of Labor, Percent of Those Surveyed in the Given Group

| Wage, rubles                  | Evaluation by respondents of difficulty of labor |                                    |                             | For category as a whole |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
|                               | labor became easier                              | difficulty of labor did not change | labor became more difficult |                         |
| Up to 125. . . . .            | 19.9                                             | 29.9                               | 32.1                        | 25.9                    |
| 125-175. . . . .              | 17.8                                             | 20.5                               | 22.8                        | 20.1                    |
| 176-250. . . . .              | 19.0                                             | 21.4                               | 29.8                        | 22.3                    |
| 251 and more . . .            | 22.9                                             | 23.9                               | 34.9                        | 25.6                    |
| For group as a whole. . . . . | 19.8                                             | 23.0                               | 29.3                        | 22.9                    |

Table 4

Distribution of Those Dissatisfied With Their Job at the Enterprise Subject to the Change of the Difficulty of Labor, Percent of Those Surveyed in the Given Group

| Wage, rubles                  | Evaluation by respondents of difficulty of labor |                                    |                             | For category as a whole |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
|                               | labor became easier                              | difficulty of labor did not change | labor became more difficult |                         |
| Up to 125. . . . .            | 17.0                                             | 21.9                               | 34.4                        | 20.5                    |
| 125-175. . . . .              | 10.8                                             | 15.2                               | 34.7                        | 17.2                    |
| 176-250. . . . .              | 13.8                                             | 18.9                               | 35.1                        | 21.0                    |
| 251 and more . . .            | 7.3                                              | 17.8                               | 43.3                        | 20.0                    |
| For group as a whole. . . . . | 12.6                                             | 18.2                               | 35.3                        | 19.2                    |

As a whole it is possible to infer the following regularity: the more difficult labor becomes, the more often the respondents aspire to leave for the European part of the USSR, where the conditions of labor activity are more favorable. At the same time the highest percentage of potential migrants is among highly paid workers (see Table 5), whose demands on other aspects of the production situation are very high.

Table 5

Distribution of Those Wishing to Leave for the European Part of the USSR Subject to the Change of the Difficulty of Labor, Percent of Those Surveyed in the Given Group

| Wage, rubles                  | Evaluation by respondents of difficulty of labor |                                    |                             | For category as a whole |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
|                               | labor became easier                              | difficulty of labor did not change | labor became more difficult |                         |
| Up to 125. . . . .            | 28.6                                             | 44.9                               | 52.5                        | 42.5                    |
| 125-175. . . . .              | 53.4                                             | 52.0                               | 70.0                        | 55.5                    |
| 176-250. . . . .              | 62.7                                             | 57.9                               | 71.0                        | 61.7                    |
| 251 and more . . .            | 54.5                                             | 50.0                               | 80.0                        | 58.0                    |
| For group as a whole. . . . . | 48.3                                             | 53.5                               | 68.6                        | 56.6                    |



At the same time the study did not reveal differences in the directions of migration subject to the overall evaluation of the conditions of one's labor. Thus, among the potential migrants who characterized their labor as difficult, 58.8 percent intend to leave for the European part of the country, among those who evaluated it as being of average difficulty--54.4 percent, as not being difficult--57.1 percent.

Let us examine the influence of the change of the skills level of workers on the mobility of manpower resources. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality," the increase of the skills and occupational mastery of workers and of the general educational and cultural level of the population is regarded as one of the most important sections of "the plans of the economic and social development of the USSR, the union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities and rayons, as well as ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations" [2, p 225].

According to the data of our study, while working at an enterprise 66.0 percent of the workers, 82.5 percent of the engineering and technical personnel and 59.0 percent of the employees improved their skills. There are definite differences among sectors in this respect. In machine building the skills increased for 74.6 percent of those surveyed, in light industry--68.0 percent, in the food industry--only 51.6 percent. Moreover, at enterprises of machine building only 9 percent of the respondents answered that they do not have any opportunities to increase their skills, in light industry--14.1 percent, while in the food industry--16.1 percent.

The increase of the level of specialized knowledge, as a rule, leads to an increase of wages, an increase of the status of the worker in the collective and the improvement of other conditions of his activity. Therefore, the aspiration to acquire great skills is one of the vital social needs, especially of young people. Thus, according to the data of the study, 67.7 percent of the workers and employees up to the age of 30 singled out as one of their primary goals the increase of the level of skills and education, 65.6 percent intend first of all to improve their housing conditions, 60.4 percent--to transfer to a higher paid job, 36.4 percent--to give their children an education, 24.1 percent--to improve their health, 16.8 percent--to set up a family.

The change of skills has a significant influence on the potential turnover. Other things being equal, those collectives, in which the workers and employees have an opportunity to increase their skills, are the most stable. And on the contrary, wherever the vocational training of the workers is not improved, the turnover tends to increase (see Table 6).

Table 6

Dependence of Potential Turnover on Change of Skills of Respondents, Percent

| Change of skills                 | Evaluation by respondents of prospects of work at enterprise |                   |                                      |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
|                                  | I will definitely leave the enterprise                       | indefinite answer | I will definitely stay at enterprise |
| Increased substantially. . . . . | 7.9                                                          | 35.8              | 56.3                                 |
| Increased negligibly. . . . .    | 11.4                                                         | 49.5              | 39.1                                 |
| Did not change. . . . .          | 14.6                                                         | 46.5              | 38.9                                 |

The intention to transfer to another enterprise depends not only on the real change of skills, but also on the potential opportunities to increase them. The taking of a different job involves at times a long break in labor activity and accordingly losses of wages, requires at times prolonged adaptation to the new collective, to the workplace and so on. Therefore, the decision to transfer usually is made only when a person has been completely convinced of the lack of a prospect to increase his skills at the given enterprise.

The existence of the prospects to increase one's skills promotes an increase of the satisfaction with other components of the production situation. Thus, 31.0 percent of the respondents who definitely know that their skills will increase were satisfied with the wages, among those for whom such an opportunity is absent only 21.0 percent were satisfied; respectively 42.5 and 33.4 percent of those surveyed were content with the job at the given enterprise.

The aspiration to increase one's skills has a considerable influence on the potential turnover. However, this factor is weakly connected with the potential migration. For example, in our sample among those whose skills increased substantially 20.3 percent wish to leave Altayskiy Kray. In the group of respondents, in which the skills increased negligibly, 27.5 percent intend to leave, among the respondents for whom it remained the same--22.4 percent. Of course, there are differences, but they are negligible. A similar dependence was found between the opportunity to increase one's skills and the migratory plans of the respondents. When there is an opportunity to increase one's skills, the aim at changing one's place of residence is characteristic of 21.3 percent of those surveyed, among those who gave an indefinite answer--27.9 percent, among those who gave a negative response--23.2 percent.

While weakly connected with the rate of migration, the factor of skills substantially influences its direction. Among workers first of all the most skills workers--51.9 percent--aspire to get to the European part of the country, while among workers of low skills 42.8 percent have such an aspiration. Unskilled personnel intend to live primarily in Central Asia. A similar relationship was also noted in the group of engineering and technical personnel and employees. Highly skilled specialists, who declared their desire to leave Altayskiy Kray, in 75.8 percent of the cases propose to settle down in the European part of the USSR, while for specialists of intermediate skill this indicator is equal to 66.9 percent and for specialists of low skill--56.6 percent. The latter for the most part intend to move to Central Asia and the northern regions of Siberia and the Far East.

The dynamics of the skills of a worker have a substantial influence on the direction of migration. Those, for whom it increased to one extent or another while working at the given enterprise, intend to resettle in the European part of the USSR. They make up 60.0 percent as against 47.2 percent for those whose skills remained the same. The latter wish to go primarily to the northern regions of Siberia, to the Far East and Central Asia.

The aspiration of unskilled workers to migrate to the north and Central Asia gives grounds to presume that, in spite of the labor surplus of the Central Asian region, there exist there (as in the north, where there is a shortage of personnel) opportunities for more rapid social and occupational advancement than in Altayskiy Kray.

A different nature is characteristic of the dependence between the direction of migratory processes and the opportunities to increase one's skills. The existence or absence of opportunities to increase one's skills does not affect significantly the aspiration to go to the European part of the country, but is closely connected with the aim to go to the northern regions of Siberia and the Far East and especially to Central Asia (see Table 7). Of all those who stated that they do not have an opportunity to increase their skills, one-fourth intend to resettle precisely there.

Table 7

Directions of Potential Migration Subject to the Opportunities of Respondents to Increase Their Skills, Percent of Those Surveyed

| Do you have an opportunity to increase your skills? | Intend to leave Altayskiy Kray for |              |                      |               |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------|
|                                                     | European part of country           | Central Asia | regions of the north | other regions |
| There is every opportunity. . . . .                 | 57.3                               | 13.4         | 7.5                  | 21.8          |
| It is difficult to say. . . . .                     | 52.9                               | 21.3         | 8.6                  | 17.2          |
| There are no opportunities. . . . .                 | 56.9                               | 25.1         | 8.3                  | 9.7           |
| For the sample as a whole . . . . .                 | 56.2                               | 16.6         | 7.8                  | 19.4          |

Thus, it is possible to conclude: with the increase of the level of skills a person also makes greater demands on other aspects of his labor activity, which forces him to look for a region with more favorable working and living conditions. Moreover, workers of intermediate and low skills aspire to go where they will be able to increase their level and accordingly receive higher wages.

FOOTNOTES

1. The study was made by the Department of Manpower Resources of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor under the direction of the author. The sample was a regionalized, multistage one in combination with the random selection of respondents at the enterprises. In all 3,482 people were surveyed; of them 71.3 percent were workers, 22.2 percent were engineering and technical personnel and 6.5 percent were white-collar workers.
2. The difficulty of labor was estimated by the respondents according to the scale: difficult, of average difficulty, not difficult; while the change of the difficulty of labor was estimated according to the scale: labor became easier; the degree of difficulty of labor did not change; labor became more difficult. The grouping of workers according to skill was made on the basis of wage categories: workers of low skills--category 1-2; workers of intermediate skills--category 3-4; highly skilled workers--category 5-6. Among engineering and technical personnel and employees people not having a higher and secondary specialized education were grouped with specialists of the lowest skills; people who graduated from secondary specialized educational institutions--specialists of intermediate skills; people who graduated from higher educational institutions--highly skilled specialists. The change of this indicator in time was established by the respondents in accordance with a ternary scale: while working at the enterprise their skills increased substantially, increased negligibly, remained unchanged. The average length of service of those surveyed at the given

enterprise was 9 years. We do not examine specially to what extent the evaluation of the respondents corresponds to the real changes in labor, as well as to what extent their skills coincide with the actual complexity of the jobs: the study of these questions is not included in the goals of the article.

3. For industry as a whole at the turn of the 1970's in the main shops of plants there were 10,000-15,000 rubles of equipment and accessories per worker and 5 rubles 60 kopecks per engineering and technical worker.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, Politizdat, 1981.
2. "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 12 July 1979," "Spravochnik partiynogo rabotnika" [Handbook of the Party Worker], issue 20, Moscow, Politizdat, 1980, pp 216-257.
3. "Sotsial'nyye faktory i osobennosti migratsii naseleniya SSSR" [Social Factors and Features of the Migration of the Population of the USSR], Moscow, Nauka, 1978.
4. Rybakovskiy, L. L., "Regional'nyy analiz migratsii" [A Regional Analysis of Migration], Moscow, Statistika, 1973.
5. Topilin, A. V., "Territorial'noye pereraspredeleniye trudovykh resursov" [The Territorial Redistribution of Manpower Resources], Moscow, Ekonomika, 1975.
6. Perevedentsev, V. I., "Metody izucheniya migratsii naseleniya" [Methods of Studying the Migration of the Population], Moscow, Nauka, 1975.
7. Shkol'nikov, N., "What Is Hindering the Search?" PRAVDA, 24 November 1967.
8. "Dvizheniye rabochikh kadrov na promyshlennykh predpriyatiyakh" [The Movement of the Regular Labor Force at Industrial Enterprises], Moscow, Nauka, 1974.

7807

CSO: 1806/17



THE USE OF SOCIAL INFORMATION IN PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 79-83

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yuzef Yefimovich Duberman, chief of a laboratory of the Scientific Research Institute of Vocational and Technical Pedagogy of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS OF COMPREHENSIVE GOAL PROGRAMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 84-92

/Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Georgiy Ivanovich Mikerin, senior research associate of the Central Institute of Economic Mathematics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Economic Sciences Vitaliy Leonidovich Tambovtsev, docent of the Economics Faculty of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806/17

## ON THE PRODUCTIVE LABOR OF ADOLESCENTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 93-97

[Article by Aleksandr Ivanovich Novikov, secondary school teacher of Perm']

[Text] The need for the labor activity of students is governed by many factors. First, in the process of labor activity the knowledge acquired by school children is consolidated; second, children and adolescents master the production skills necessary for future occupational activity. Third, the sense of responsibility, civic spirit and involvement in a common cause forms among the school children. Finally, participation in labor is the most important mechanism of the socialization and integration of the individual in the existing system of social relations.

In addition to the social and educational consequences, the economic consequences of the combination of education with labor are also of great importance. It is a matter not only of the training of school children for occupational activity. The experience of the organization of student brigades and of the participation of adolescents in productive labor attests to its great national economic effectiveness. Under the conditions of the shortage of manpower resources, which is becoming more acute and the need to change the economy over to the path of intensive development and the maximum utilization of the available technical and economic potential, which the 26th CPSU Congress indicated, the labor of students (of course, within reasonable limits) can become a significant factor of the growth of the economy.

No one in principle denies the need to combine education with labor. However, opposing opinions are being expressed concerning the question of the methods of their interconnection, the essence and system of the labor activity of school children.

Many educators, psychologists and specialists in the field of education believe that the labor of school children should boil down to "instructional" labor, to activity in classes on labor. Studies, they say, are already labor, and work outside the school workshops merely hinders the training, leads to the overloading of the school children and adversely affects their health and the quality of the knowledge being acquired [3, p 161]. The fact of a sharp increase of the extent and the complication of the syllabuses of the secondary school and the higher educational institution over the past quarter century serves as an additional argument of the supporters of such a point of view. This problem merits the most serious attention, but the obstacle to the combination of labor with education, in our opinion, does not lie in it.

Another point of view--in our opinion a more correct one--is directly opposite the first one. The basis of education is the combination of the process of training and instruction with productive labor, and in its modern, industrial forms. Labor in this case should be short-term, should take place under hygienically and technologically favorable conditions, should alternate with mental exercises and should be carried out under the guidance of skilled specialists and jointly with adult workers.

Today labor education, as a rule, is organized so that 25 minutes (!) a week are allotted in the 4th-8th grades for practical exercises. The instructors complain: it is impossible to foster labor skills in the school children. It is a paradox, but in labor lessons it is necessary to write more than in Russian lessons /4/.

The emphasis on the formation of theoretical notions about the labor process (and this is inevitable, if we limit ourselves only to labor lessons) is developing into the practical helplessness of school children, the inability and reluctance to use the acquired knowledge directly. As a result "annually throughout the country more than 1,000 m<sup>3</sup> of lumber and hundreds of tons of metal are transformed into shavings and chips in school workshops" /5/. It turns out that the children under the guidance of teachers are destroying what was created by the hands of older generations. What kind of attitude toward labor is being cultivated here?! Is this conducive, finally, to the lasting assimilation of knowledge and the development of labor skills?

To a certain extent educational production combines are filling the gap in labor training. However, usually only 1 day a week is allotted for work at them, and the group of occupations at them for the present is very narrow. The extensive enlistment of students in labor on days of school holidays and during hours outside of school is affording great opportunities. The experience existing in this respect attests: adolescents are enlisted for the most part in the performance of manual, auxiliary, and not independent types of jobs. And as a consequence a true interest in learning one occupation or another and a sense of the need and value of one's own labor are not being formed among school children.

At the same time practice shows: the most significant educational and training results are achieved when the students are enlisted in independent productive labor. At school No 67 of the station of Yaroslavskaya in Krasnodarskiy Kray the students in the labor lessons under the direction of their teacher V. I. Matsinin made small tractors with light-duty steering. Students of the fourth grade began to work on them. In 1967 alone 350 school children learned to drive vehicles. The 15-year-old "engineers" put into operation equipment for the dairy farm of the kolkhoz, which due to a design error made at the plant did not work /6/.

The Mamlyutka School of Severo-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast, at which 350 children are studying, has 10 hectares of land, on which there are an experimental field, a garden, a fruit orchard and arboretum, a pine tree park, a flower garden and an ornamental garden. The school also has a livestock farm, an apiary, seven tractors, five trucks and two combines. Throughout the year the students work every day on modern equipment in the field and at the farm, jointly with the workers of the sovkhoz. The absolute majority of graduates turn out to be trained specialists and go to work in the sphere of physical production. The system of labor training, which has been organized at the school, also has a positive influence on the improvement of the health of the children. Among the adolescents with tubercular

intoxication, who have come here, in the past 5 years no relapses of the disease have been observed. And the fact that in the past 13 years among the students there has not been a single serious offense is significant.

It seems that the cited examples are sufficient to show the need and promise of the combination of education and training with productive labor. Why is such experience not receiving mass dissemination?

First of all there are obstacles of a legal nature. According to labor legislation, adolescents up to the age of 16 cannot be enlisted in production labor (they are not allowed on vehicles to the age of 18). Of course, neither economic managers nor educators want to assume the additional responsibility connected with the organization of the productive labor of students--school children for the most part are employed in the simplest types of manual labor, which often is useless, and at times simply has negative consequences for education and training.

At the same time Article 42 of the new USSR Constitution prohibits only child labor which is not connected with education and labor training. As we see, this ban does not apply at all to adolescents. Consequently, current labor legislation should be brought into line with the Fundamental Law of the country.

The matter, of course, does not reduce only to the changing of legal norms. An extensive set of measures is necessary for the enlistment of students in productive labor. Thus, in our opinion, the production of special equipment and accessories for fitting out the workplaces at which school children work is expedient. The development and mass production of machines of small size and small capacity, about which the public has been speaking out for a long time now, will considerably facilitate the participation of school children in labor. The organization of enterprises, which are specially designed for the labor of children and adolescents, ensure the safety of their health, as well as facilitate the study of modern technology and the learning of the scientific knowledge, on the use of which the given works is based, will promote this.

An urgent problem for the development of the productive labor of students is the danger of their psychological and physical overloading. The opinion is often expressed that adolescents are psychologically unprepared for intensive and full-fledged labor activity.

Certainly, caution is required here, it is necessary to take into account the latest data of medicine and psychology. It seems to us that the period of labor for the different categories of students should be as follows: for school children of the 1st-3d grades not more than 1 hour daily, for school children of the 4th-6th grades--1.5-2 hours, for school children of the 7th-10th grades--2-2.5 hours daily. Moreover, science has established that the potentials of a child's mind are colossal and they are clearly being utilized inadequately. In our opinion, the dissemination in school of the simplest labor, which poorly stimulates the development of the abilities and inherent qualities of children and adolescents, is in many ways to blame for this. Let us turn to the facts.

In Moscow after the war L. V. Berman set up a road course for children. Here children 10-14 years old were taught the art of driving. It turned out that in children of this age the main attribute of a driver--automatism in driving a vehicle--



develops 16- to 17-fold more rapidly than in adults. Still, in 1969 they closed the course, giving as a reason for the decision the fact that it is not permitted to entrust a vehicle to children of that age.

One of the most formidable arguments against the labor of children and adolescents under the conditions of the use of modern equipment is the danger of injury. However, in the overwhelming majority of instances school children and students, who have received injuries in agricultural jobs, have not been allowed to work on machines, that is, not the equipment, but bad organization and the carelessness of the adults responsible for the organization of labor are to blame for the accident.

In all the years of existence of the commune directed by A. S. Makarenko not one production accident occurred at it. The above-mentioned road course for children was in operation for 12 years. The fleet consisted of 12 vehicles which operated under the most diverse conditions: in winter, in summer, on streets with sparse traffic and during "rush" hours, on interurban highways and so on. At the same time not one accident occurred. In militia documents the course was called "accident-free."

Can it be considered a coincidence that in these extensive and protracted experiments traumatic injury was completely eliminated? It seems that a regularity appeared here: adolescents operated modern equipment starting at an early age and dealt with machines under real conditions. In childhood the defensive reaction is extremely strong, the necessary reflexes develop more rapidly. Of course, the organization of labor and strict discipline in the collective are of enormous importance. In creating hothouse conditions and protecting children and adolescents as much as possible from difficulties, we thereby prepare the ground for possible accidents, for, having grown older, boys and girls are not always prepared for activity under tense conditions.

The lack of a fundamental interrelationship between labor and education has many adverse economic and social consequences. Young engineers, who have graduated from an institute (and prior to this have never worked at a works), reluctantly go to a plant: it is difficult to direct people when you are poorly oriented in their immediate activity. Insufficient social experience, which is connected with labor relations, complicates the formation in the individual of socially important attributes and social activeness and requires the protracted adaptation of a young person to the conditions of modern production.

The participation of the rising generation in productive labor means that about 40 million school children, about 10 million students of higher educational institutions and students of tekhnikums and more than 3 million students of vocational and technical schools, that is, in all more than 50 million people, will be enlisted in physical production. Concerning the effectiveness of the labor of school children, let us cite just one example. The Sorokino student production brigade (Altayskiy Kray), which is directed by agronomist K. A. Bystreva, transformed 12 hectares of "worthless" land into a tract with a high standard of farming, which yields a considerable income. This field is the most mechanized one in the region; moreover, the students run the machines themselves. All the equipment was purchased with the assets earned by the adolescents. Here is how the revenues of the student brigade increased: 1970--16,000 rubles, 1971--23,000 rubles, 1972--42,000 rubles, 1973--52,000 rubles 177. Comments, as they say, are unnecessary.

I would like to touch upon another moral aspect of the matter. Of course, when it is a matter of moral training, it is impossible to limit oneself only to labor activity which is connected with education. The enlistment of students in general in useful labor--as postmen, workers of the service sphere and so on--is unquestionably useful in this respect. The educational effect of such production activity is indisputable. As First Secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade G. A. Aliyev emphasized in his speech at the All-Union Applied Science Conference on Problems of Moral Education in Baku, school children, first, will sense that their labor is indeed useful. Second, although not for a long time, they will cook in the working class cauldron. And, third, they will receive a concrete lesson in a respectful attitude toward the labor ruble /2, p 35/.

We should dwell specially on the question of the wage of school children, first of all precisely the moral aspect of the problem. The opinion is widespread that the money of adolescents, especially of upper graders, is a source of offenses, anti-social behavior and recurrences of a consumerist psychology. Of course, such a danger exists, and it is impossible to ignore it in educational work. For all this, in our opinion, an adolescent will spend the money earned by his own labor by no means irresponsibly and freely just as he does not spend the money his parents give to him.

It should not, however, be forgotten: under the conditions of the increase of the well-being of the Soviet people the material dependence of adolescents on their parent in meeting specifically youth, group needs adversely affects the moral stand and aims of the individual--it gives rise to dependency sentiments, a hypertrophied notion about the consumer aspect of life, the aspiration to obtain monetary assets by means of unearned income (and in a number of instances by illegal acts).

Finally, it is impossible to cultivate a sense of the social importance and utility of one's labor without the evaluation of its results. In the case of commodity-money relations the wage functions as such a measurer. Monetary remuneration (in individual or collective form) is, in our opinion, an important factor of the cultivation in the rising generation of a conscientious, civic attitude toward labor.

Summarizing what has been said, let us emphasize: modern productive labor, which is connected with education and training, should become just as compulsory as the study of the fundamentals of the sciences. To be sure, all this requires the careful study of the forms and methods of the organization of the production activity of school children, the comprehensive clarification of its economic, social and psychological consequences. The research of scientists should be aimed at the solution of the problem raised by the 26th CPSU Congress: to increase the quality of instruction, labor and moral education in the school, to strengthen the tie of education with life, to improve the preparation of school children for socially useful labor /1, p 60/.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1981.
2. Aliyev, G. A., "The Formation of an Active Position in Life: The Experience and Urgent Problems of Moral Education," "Aktivnaya zhiznennaya pozitsiya

bortsov za kommunizm" /The Active Position in Life of the Champions of Communism/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1979.

3. Afanas'yeva, T., "Glavnaya privilegiya" /The Main Privilege/, Moscow, Molodaya gvardiya, 1977.
4. Markus', I., "Theory Without Practice," UCHITEL'SKAYA GAZETA, 21 October 1976.
5. Bol'shakov, G., "The Efficiency of School Workshops," UCHITEL'SKAYA GAZETA, 26 March 1977.
6. Bruskova, Ye., "Village Engineers," KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 29 June 1968.
7. Gorbunov, D. and Shchekochikhin, Yu., "A Profitable Place," KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 28 July 1974.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

STRUCTURE OF THE FREE TIME OF THE POPULATION OF LENKORAN': SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL AND AGE DIFFERENTIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 98-102

/Article by Galina Aleksandrovna Zaikina, junior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806/17



## CHANGES IN THE STYLE OF LIFE OF THE FAMILIES OF LENKORANSKIY RAYON

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 102-105

/Article by Chingiz Adil ogly Mansimov, graduate student of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The profound socio-economic and cultural changes taking place in Azerbaijan are having a great influence on the way of life of the family. Especially noticeable changes are taking place in the rural rayons of the republic. Characteristic of them are: a high level of the birth rate and the growth of the population, the predominance of extended families and families with many children, which are inclined to a traditional family and everyday style of life, of which such traits as the indistinctness of the boundaries between working and free time, the domination of national ethnic, folkloric elements, especially in the sphere of culture, and so forth are characteristic.

It is customary to believe that the traditional family and everyday style of life becomes obsolete during urbanization, the mechanization of production, the increase of the culture and education of the population. Indeed, statistics show: in connection with these factors the birth rate is declining, the tendency for the nuclearization of the family is appearing more distinctly, the structure of free time is changing, the role of ethnic traditions is decreasing. At the same time marital and family relations are themselves becoming more complicated, the likelihood of conflicts is increasing, divorces are becoming more frequent. However, as has already been noted in scientific literature, the negative consequences of urbanization and technical progress are by no means fatal. Our study<sup>1</sup> showed, in particular, that the changes connected with the scientific and technical revolution, on the condition of the purposeful development of the infrastructure and a considerate attitude toward the long established socially useful customs are conducive both to the preservation of positive traditions and to the strengthening of the new trends which are characteristic of international socialist culture and the international socialist way of life.

Lenkoran' is one of the most developed socio-economic regions of the republic. According to the data of the Statistical Administration of Lenkoranskiy Rayon, from

---

1. The study was conducted in 1980 by the Council of Sociological Research of the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan with the participation of the author. In all 600 people were surveyed.

1970 to 1980 the average wage of workers increased here by nearly fourfold, the level of consumption of basic foodstuffs and durable goods increased considerably. The number of people having a higher and secondary education increased nearly two-fold as against 1970 and in 1980 came to 76 people per 1,000 (10 years of age and older).

The analysis of the dynamics of the main sociodemographic indicators attests to a small decrease of the birth rate and the natural growth of the population, a decline of the number of families with many children and a slight increase of the absolute number of divorces with a steady increase of the number of marriages (see Table 1).

Table 1

Main Indicators of the Sociodemographic Development of Lenkoranskiy Rayon

| Year | Number of births per 1,000 people | Natural growth per 1,000 people | Number of marriages and divorces per 1,000 people |          | Number of mothers with many children, who receive a state grant (absolute) |                   |                           |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
|      |                                   |                                 | mar-riages                                        | divorces | with 7 children                                                            | with 8-9 children | with 10 and more children |
| 1975 | 29.6                              | 23.1                            | 7.4                                               | 0.3      | --                                                                         | --                | --                        |
| 1976 | 31.5                              | 25.5                            | 7.4                                               | 0.3      | 813                                                                        | 778               | 690                       |
| 1977 | 29.9                              | 24.5                            | 7.8                                               | 0.3      | 745                                                                        | 663               | 681                       |
| 1979 | 29.7                              | 22.8                            | 9.8                                               | 0.4      | 642                                                                        | 504               | 573                       |

However, not so much the quantitative changes (as an overall consequence of technical and economic progress) as the qualitative shifts in the very style of family and everyday life, family norms, traditions and value orientations are of particular interest.

The creation of a developed social infrastructure, first of all the improvement of housing conditions, is one of the main factors of the formation of the new style of family and everyday life. The study showed that now every young family of Lenkoran' aspires to acquire a separate apartment, to live in their own home. The separation of the young generation from the old generation and the appreciable increase in the number of families consisting of one generation entail progressive changes in their way of life. At the same time these changes do not destroy the traditional style of life, since after the territorial and everyday separation of adult children from their parents the psychological and economic bonds between them, as a rule, are preserved.

The city party organizations and the soviet organs are exerting great efforts to meet the present needs of the family. Master plans of development and renovation extending up to the year 2000 have been drafted for many villages of Lenkoranskiy Rayon.

Consumer service--the most important factor of the change of the structure of non-working time, the decrease in it of the proportion of household and everyday activity and the increase of cultural activity--is playing an important role in the formation of the new way of life of the family.

The study showed that the satisfaction of the population with the work of institutions of culture and personal service is different--the movie theater, the theater and the library received a high rating of the workers, while personal service is characterized by lower indicators (see Table 2).

Table 2

Satisfaction of the Employed Population of Lenkoran' With the Work of  
Institutions of Culture and Personal Service

| Institutes of culture and personal service | Number of those who expressed satisfaction, percent |                                      |                    |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
|                                            | intelligentsia, employees                           | workers of industry and construction | workers of sovkhoz |
| Medical institutions                       | 48.7                                                | 64.0                                 | 87.8               |
| Movie theater. . . .                       | 52.5                                                | 65.3                                 | 68.6               |
| Theater. . . . .                           | 51.2                                                | 55.1                                 | 37.3               |
| House of personal service. . . . .         | 38.7                                                | 43.7                                 | 66.9               |
| Dining room. . . .                         | 20.0                                                | 46.2                                 | 38.2               |
| House of culture . .                       | 33.7                                                | 45.4                                 | 62.6               |
| Library. . . . .                           | 55.0                                                | 51.6                                 | 60.8               |
| Tea shop and store .                       | 25.0                                                | 47.7                                 | 61.7               |

The very significant percentage of those who did not express their opinion concerning the work of the dining rooms (from 52 to 65 percent) attests that the population prefers primarily home cooking. (However, judging from the low appraisal of those who did respond, such a preference has objective reasons.) At the same time the importance of some object of culture and daily life or another and the satisfaction with it might not coincide. For example, given the greatest importance of medical institutions, the appraisal of their work, especially among the intelligentsia and employees, is low.

The increase of the well-being of the family entails not only a quantitative increase, but also a qualitative change of their material and cultural demands. This is displayed especially distinctly in the orientations of the population toward the acquisition of durable goods (see Table 3).

For the workers of the sovkhoz the most common durable goods are: a television (87.8 percent), a sewing machine (71.3 percent), a refrigerator (57.3 percent), a radio (53.0 percent), rugs (48.7 percent). The majority of families keep domestic livestock, 76.5 percent have private plots. Nearly half have gold adornments and jewelry, one family in three has a set of furniture. Considerably fewer families have household appliances, musical instruments and sports equipment. The study made it possible to reveal an unmet demand for some goods. Among them are washing machines, vacuum cleaners, tape recorders and motor vehicles.

The structure of durable goods among the urban and rural population is different. In the household of the former the proportion of household appliances, which make housework easier, first of all is greater. Now 25.3 percent of those surveyed have washing machines (nearly threefold greater than among the workers of the sovkhoz), vacuum cleaners--16.8 percent (among workers of the sovkhoz--only 0.8 percent), refrigerators--62.6 percent. The exception is sewing machines, which urban

workers have fewer of than rural workers (57.8 and 71.3 percent respectively). This is the result of the higher level of consumer service in the city and the traditional style of family and everyday life in the countryside. City dwellers are oriented more toward household cultural and personal goods than toward everyday household goods. They more frequently purchase musical instruments, sports equipment, sets of furniture, record players and tape recorders. In all 12.0 percent of the families have motor vehicles. At the same time the workers of industry and construction have fewer gold adornments and jewelry, private plots are less often at their disposal (53.0 percent).

Table 3

Availability of Durable Goods in the Families of Those Surveyed  
and the Orientations Toward Acquiring Them

| Elements of household goods environment | Workers of sovkhos |                                  | Workers of industry and construction |                                  | Intelligentsia, employees |                                  |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
|                                         | have               | do not have, but want to acquire | have                                 | do not have, but want to acquire | have                      | do not have, but want to acquire |
| Washing machine. .                      | 16.5               | 63.9                             | 25.3                                 | 33.7                             | 37.0                      | 40.7                             |
| Sewing machine . .                      | 71.3               | 13.0                             | 57.8                                 | 15.6                             | 60.7                      | 19.7                             |
| Vacuum cleaner . .                      | 0.8                | 33.9                             | 16.8                                 | 25.3                             | 29.7                      | 34.0                             |
| Refrigerator . . .                      | 57.3               | 26.1                             | 62.6                                 | 16.8                             | 73.2                      | 11.5                             |
| Black and white television . . . .      | 87.8               | 5.2                              | 83.1                                 | 4.8                              | 84.5                      | 6.7                              |
| Color television .                      | 1.6                | 2.6                              | 7.2                                  | 14.4                             | 10.0                      | 34.5                             |
| Radio. . . . .                          | 53.0               | 7.8                              | 62.6                                 | 14.4                             | 51.2                      | 21.0                             |
| Record player. . .                      | 6.0                | 2.6                              | 21.6                                 | 10.8                             | 16.5                      | 25.7                             |
| Tape recorder. . .                      | 13.9               | 23.5                             | 24.0                                 | 21.6                             | 22.7                      | 36.7                             |
| Motorcycle . . . .                      | 4.3                | 1.7                              | 9.6                                  | 12.0                             | 3.2                       | 30.2                             |
| Motor vehicle. . .                      | 4.4                | 18.3                             | 12.0                                 | 28.9                             | 11.5                      | 41.0                             |
| Bicycle. . . . .                        | 15.6               | 0.0                              | 8.4                                  | 10.8                             | 6.2                       | 24.7                             |
| Piano. . . . .                          | 0.0                | 0.8                              | 4.8                                  | 16.8                             | 15.5                      | 25.5                             |
| Accordion. . . . .                      | 1.6                | 0.8                              | 3.6                                  | 9.6                              | 8.5                       | 6.2                              |
| Guitar . . . . .                        | 0.0                | 2.6                              | 6.0                                  | 10.8                             | 8.5                       | 18.5                             |
| Tar* . . . . .                          | 0.0                | 0.0                              | 2.4                                  | 9.6                              | 8.5                       | 12.0                             |
| Kamancha*. . . . .                      | 0.0                | 0.0                              | 2.4                                  | 12.0                             | 3.2                       | 8.2                              |
| Camera . . . . .                        | 0.8                | 0.8                              | 8.4                                  | 8.4                              | 10.0                      | 5.5                              |
| Movie camera . . .                      | 0.8                | 0.0                              | 0.0                                  | 8.4                              | 2.5                       | 0.7                              |
| New furniture. . .                      | 32.2               | 33.0                             | 24.0                                 | 25.3                             | 26.7                      | 23.5                             |
| Carpet . . . . .                        | 48.7               | 24.3                             | 49.3                                 | 24.0                             | 59.0                      | 20.0                             |
| Gold adornments and jewelry. . . .      | 44.3               | 26.9                             | 32.5                                 | 18.0                             | 28.7                      | 22.2                             |
| Fashionable clothing. . . . .           | 20.9               | 13.9                             | 40.9                                 | 9.6                              | 22.7                      | 21.2                             |
| Sports equipment .                      | 6.9                | 1.6                              | 16.8                                 | 20.4                             | 12.7                      | 5.2                              |
| Bull . . . . .                          | 0.8                | 1.6                              | 6.0                                  | 8.4                              | 2.2                       | 2.2                              |
| Cow. . . . .                            | 53.9               | 20.0                             | 19.2                                 | 9.6                              | 20.0                      | 4.0                              |
| Sheep. . . . .                          | 2.6                | 2.6                              | 8.4                                  | 8.4                              | 5.0                       | 2.2                              |
| Household items. .                      | 75.6               | 2.6                              | 59.0                                 | 2.4                              | 51.7                      | 1.7                              |
| Private plot . . .                      | 76.5               | 2.6                              | 53.0                                 | 9.6                              | 50.7                      | 6.2                              |

\*Azerbaijani musical instruments [Editor's note]



According to the data of the survey a higher level of saturation with household appliances (especially vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, washing machines) and cultural items: color televisions, musical instruments, is noted in the families of the intelligentsia and employees. At the same time the material means, which for this contingent are less than for urban workers, have a substantial influence on the structure of the household goods environment. As a whole the intelligentsia and employees of Lenkoran' are oriented to a greater extent than the other social groups toward cultural consumption and to a lesser extent toward everyday household consumption.

The consumer demand of the intelligentsia is aimed first of all toward color televisions, record players and tape recorders, motorcycles and motor vehicles, bicycles, musical instruments. This confirms the conclusion about the decisive role of sociocultural factors in the way of life of people in general and in their consumer behavior in particular.

Thus, although individual differences in the patterns of the consumption and demands of the family subject to its social and economic status are being preserved, the results of the study clearly establish the tendency for these patterns to converge on the basis of the increase of the well-being and culture of all the workers.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF MOSCOW

### MATERIAL WELL-BEING AND FAMILY STABILITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 106-112

/Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Irina Yur'yevna Rodzinskaya, junior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences

/Text/ In the Main Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990 it is indicated that during the 11th Five-Year Plan a number of measures on the further increase of the well-being of the people have to be implemented: the wage of workers and employees and the payments from public consumption funds have to be increased, state aid to families having children and to young couples has to be stepped up, the working conditions and living conditions of working women have to be improved, the possibility of combining their occupational labor with their maternal duties has to be ensured.

These measures were defined concretely in the recent decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Step Up State Aid to Families Having Children" /1/, the goal of which is to promote an increase of the birth rate, the improvement of the quality of the raising of children and the strengthening of the Soviet family.

The process of the stabilization or destabilization of the family takes place under the influence of both objective and subjective factors. The socio-economic conditions of vital activity: material, housing and everyday household conditions, contacts with relatives and neighbors, the norms of family law and so forth, are among the former, while the psychological and physiological compatibility of the married couple, the community (difference) of their value orientations, the ability for mutual adaptation and cooperation are among the latter. At the present stage of the development of society social psychological factors are acquiring greater and greater importance, often determining as well the nature of the influence of economic conditions on marital and family relations. Therefore, changes in the material status should be examined in connection with the system of measures of moral and psychological aid to the family, which is now being implemented.

In turn, the individual aspects of the conditions of the life of the family have a different influence on the development of conjugal relations. The determination of the greatest bottlenecks in this area will make it possible to implement more purposefully the measures of social and demographic policy, which are aimed at the stabilization of the family in the USSR. Studies of Muscovite families, which were

conducted by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1976, 1977 and 1979,<sup>1</sup> were devoted to the solution of the corresponding problems.

The level of stability of the family<sup>2</sup> is determined by means of the index of satisfaction with marriage of both spouses; it was based on a number of indicators 127. Here they proceeded on the assumption that when both husband and wife are satisfied with the marriage and with each other, the process of stabilization proceeds successfully; otherwise destabilization occurs. The families, in which one of the spouses is satisfied with the marriage and the other is dissatisfied, occupy an intermediate position.<sup>3</sup>

Let us examine how certain circumstances or others influence family stability.

**Per Capita Income.** The studies did not detect a direct dependence between the per capita income of the family and its stability. Among families whose income does not exceed 80 rubles per person, 56 percent were stable, 44 percent were unstable; in the next group (81-100 rubles)—58 and 42 percent respectively; in the third group of those distinguished by us (over 100 rubles)—50 and 50 percent. Only the difference between families with a per capita income over 100 rubles, on the one hand, and up to 60 rubles, on the other, is statistically reliable.<sup>4</sup> Among the latter stable families essentially predominate (76 percent). This difference can be explained by the influence of other factors which are simultaneously interconnected with both the stability and the income. Thus, a direct dependence was found between the stability of the family and the number of children in it, as well as the presence of a second child up to the age of 3 years. The latter indicator directly correlates with the number of women who temporarily are not working.

In our 1979 study the families with a first or second child of infantile age had the lowest income. Since the bulk of such families are grouped with stable families, this also caused the predominance of stable families in the group of families with the minimum income. If a woman stops working, this significantly influences the amount of the per capita income of the family. A new procedure—partial pay for leave to care for a child until he reaches the age of one—is introduced by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Step Up State Aid to Families Having Children."

Poor material conditions in themselves do not cause conflict situations in the family and do not increase the frequency of serious arguments between married couples. Constant marital conflicts occur for several reasons in 35 percent of the families with an income up to 80 rubles per person, in 30 percent of the families with an income of 81-100 rubles and in 37 percent with an income in excess of 100 rubles. Arguments for such reasons as the raising of the children, differences in the views of the spouses and the organization of leisure, are encountered more often in well-to-do families (see Table 1), which attests to the higher level of their pretensions.

The per capita income does not influence the frequency of disputes in stable families. Thus, with an income up to 50 rubles disputes occur frequently in 15 percent of the stable families, with an income over 100 rubles—in 18 percent. The small number of unstable families with a low income (up to 50 rubles) in our study does not make it possible to establish whether an unsatisfactory material situation worsens the relations between married couples. Apparently, such a relationship

does exist. Disputes are very typical of unstable families with an income in excess of 100 rubles (56 percent).

Table 1

Causes of Disputes Between Spouses in Families With a Different Per Capita Income,\* Percent of Number of Those Surveyed in Each Group

| Income per family member (average a month), rubles | Causes of disputes |                     |                         |                                |                   |                                                |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------------|
|                                                    | household issues   | raising of children | organization of leisure | difference in views of spouses | financial matters | abuse of alcoholic beverages by one of spouses |
| Up to 80                                           | 40                 | 40                  | 19                      | 40                             | 20                | 20                                             |
| 81-100                                             | 70                 | 60                  | 10                      | 60                             | 17                | 9                                              |
| Over 100                                           | 53                 | 88                  | 30                      | 65                             | 35                | 25                                             |

\* At least one of the spouses noted the indicated cause of frequent disputes.

As for broken families, as the study conducted by us in 1979 jointly with the Institute of Soviet Legislation showed,<sup>5</sup> their material conditions (prior to the divorce) were no worse, and at times were better than those of stable families. Of the broken families with one child, 5 percent had a per capita income up to 50 rubles, 42 percent had an income in excess of 100 rubles; 6 and 40 percent of the stable families with one child respectively had such incomes. According to the data of L. V. Chuyko, among broken Kievan families 3 percent had an income up to 50 rubles and 51 percent had an income in excess of 100 rubles per person [3, p 145].

From everything said it is possible to draw the conclusion that a low income, especially if this is a temporary thing, without the influence of other factors does not cause dissatisfaction with marriage and the instability of the family and does not serve as a cause of its breakdown. The joint overcoming of difficulties often even unites spouses who are close spiritually and emotionally. At the same time, material security in itself cannot be the cause of the success of a marriage, although in some situations it is conducive to the preservation of a troubled family. Among the many factors of the stabilization of family relations the per capita income of the family is the least significant.

**Housing Conditions.** In all, 47 percent of the families with preschool children (1977) and 61 percent of the families with children of young school age (1979) had separate apartments, 42 and 30 percent respectively occupied a room in the apartment of their parents, the remainder lived in communal apartments.

The size and nature of the occupied living space did not have a direct influence in our study on the stability (instability) of the family.<sup>6</sup> Unstable families are encountered with an identical frequency among those living in communal and separate apartments—29 and 28.8 percent respectively. Cohabitation with the parents of one of the spouses, according to the materials of all three studies, has, rather, a positive influence: among composite families there are more stable families (63 percent) than among nuclear families (52 percent—data of 1977).



Strained relations between one of the spouses and the parents of the other formed for 18 percent of those surveyed. However, both in the case of cohabitation and in the case of separate habitation the disputes on this ground occur with nearly the same frequency (in 19 percent of the families in the first case and 17 percent in the second). As our study showed, complications in the family due exclusively to parents occur among 9 percent of the spouses. According to the data of Estonian sociologists, only 6 percent of the former spouses named this cause of disputes as the main one [4, p 140]. In most instances the separate habitation of the older and younger generations in itself, without the influence of other factors, does not promote the stabilization of the young family.

Thus, although the availability of one's own living space is an indispensable condition of the formation and development of conjugal and family relations, measures aimed only at the improvement of the housing conditions of young families will hardly have a direct influence on their stabilization. Married couples having a separate apartment divorce even more often, since this makes it possible to separate and in the future arrange one's personal life.

Living Conditions. Among women the dissatisfaction with marriage is connected to a greater extent than among men with the household sphere of the activity of the family. Thus, only 14.3 percent of the women satisfied with marriage are discontent with how their life is organized; among those dissatisfied with marriage this indicator comes to 50 percent. The increased physical and psychological strain, which to a considerable extent is caused by the inefficient combination of occupational and family roles, influences conjugal relations and the overall atmosphere in the family.<sup>7</sup>

During our studies some relationship was established between the satisfaction of a woman with marriage and her expenditures of time on housework, as well as between the stability of the family and the expenditures of time of each spouse on the household: a heavy workload of women and a light workload of men are characteristic of unstable families, the more active involvement of men and accordingly a lighter workload of women are characteristic of stable families (Table 2). Disputes for this reason occur in 85 percent of the unstable families and 18 percent of the stable families.

Table 2

Stability of the Family and Expenditures of Time by Men and Women on Managing Household Affairs, Percent of the Number of Those Surveyed in Families of Different Types

| Type of family | Number of groups (families) | Expenditures of time on weekday |       |              |       |           |       |           |       |              |       |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|--------------|-------|
|                |                             | no time                         |       | up to 1 hour |       | 1-2 hours |       | 2-3 hours |       | over 3 hours |       |
|                |                             | men                             | women | men          | women | men       | women | men       | women | men          | women |
| Stable         | 140                         | 18.2                            | 4.5   | 54.5         | 26.4  | 19.1      | 28.2  | 3.7       | 18.2  | 4.5          | 22.7  |
| Unstable       | 110                         | 48.7                            | --    | 38.8         | 9.1   | 8.0       | 13.5  | 4.5       | 32.0  | --           | 45.4  |

The efficient combination of the housework of the family members with public forms of service is regarded by the state as the most important means of reorganizing the daily life of people on a communist basis. However, at present the use of types of consumer service, which are designed to ease the everyday concerns of the family, even in Moscow is very limited. According to the data of our studies, 3-4 percent of those surveyed use dining rooms during nonworking hours, 4 percent--the personal services of the Zarya firm, 10 percent--advance orders of products, 44 percent--laundries; 15 percent regularly purchase convenience foods. At present only laundries to some extent free women from everyday individual labor, replacing it with a public form of service, but even this does not eliminate washing at home, especially in families with small children. Owing to the negligible use of the public system of services due to objective and subjective reasons, a significant decrease of the expenditures of time on household matters so far has not occurred.

We also did not find a correlation between the availability at home of household appliances (a washing machine, vacuum cleaner, floor polisher) and the amount of time being spent on housekeeping. The surveyed young Muscovite families were better supplied with household items than urban families on the average for USSR cities: 100 percent of the families had refrigerators, 65 percent had washing machines, 78 percent had vacuum cleaners (for the USSR as a whole in 1978 there were 93 refrigerators, 79 washing machines and 32 electric vacuum cleaners per 100 urban families [5, p 414]).

Thus, neither the system of personal service with the present level of its development and means of organization nor the assortment of household goods, which is prevalent among the population, so far is leading to a substantial decrease of the expenditures of time on everyday household needs and, consequently, cannot promote the strengthening of the family.

The assistance given to a woman by her husband and relatives has a substantial influence on the extent of her involvement in household matter. The mutual assistance of spouses, owing to which, on the one hand, the workload of the woman decreases and, on the other, an atmosphere of cooperation and partnership is created, is especially important for the stabilization of the family (Table 3).

Table 3

Breakdown of Household and Parental Duties Between Spouses and Family Stability,  
Percent of the Number of Those Surveyed in Each Group of Families

| Breakdown of household duties                       | Type of family |          |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------|----------|
|                                                     | stable         | unstable |
| Engage in housework:                                |                |          |
| primarily the wife. . . . .                         | 12.9           | 41.4     |
| primarily the husband . . . . .                     | 3.1            | 1.3      |
| wife and husband to an equal extent . . . . .       | 84.0           | 57.3     |
| Engage in raising the children and caring for them: |                |          |
| primarily the wife. . . . .                         | 30.2           | 61.1     |
| primarily the husband . . . . .                     | 26.7           | 13.4     |
| wife and husband to an equal extent . . . . .       | 43.1           | 25.5     |

The data of our studies attest that the structure of the leisure of young married couples to a considerable extent is governed by the assistance on the part of relatives in caring for the children. Thus, 76 percent of the couples having a child no older than 3 years old, whom they have no one to leave with, do not go at all to the movies, theaters and so on. At the same time it is young married couples who experience an especially urgent need for forms of the spending of leisure outside the home, and the lack of "freedom" is felt keenly by them. More than 85 percent of them note that they use their free time in a much less interesting and meaningful way than before getting married.

The need to develop family forms of the spending of vacation has been discussed and written about repeatedly. But it is no less important to create the conditions for the joint relaxation of young couples away from home during the rest of the time. So far this problem has not been solved. The Zarya firm, for example, does not provide for such a type of services as caring for a child for several hours in the evening or on days off.<sup>9</sup>

Due to the limited possibilities of using free time, married couples often spend it separately, which adversely affects their interrelations. In young families living with parents, owing to the assistance of the latter the gap in the expenditures of time on different types of leisure activity for husbands and wives is considerably less than for young families living alone.

The mutual assistance of relatives in many ways depends on how close they live to each other. When parents and their adult children live together, 70 percent of the young families receive assistance in managing the household, while 94 percent receive assistance in raising the children; when they live separately, only 28 and 50 percent respectively receive assistance. For 42 percent of those surveyed the trip to their parents takes 1-1.5 hours. It is not by chance, therefore, that in response to the question about the desired nature of the settlement of families 22 percent of the respondents answered that they would like to live in the same apartment with their parents on the condition of the corresponding increase of the living space, 68 percent--in neighboring houses and only 10 percent--far from their parents.<sup>10</sup> If in the practice of allocating and exchanging apartments the needs of young families and their parents were taken into account, this could promote the solution of many social problems, particularly the raising of children and assistance to the aged.

The state is not able to undertake the solution of all the vital problems of the family. Thus, owing to children's preschool institutions a woman can work at a works, while during nonworking hours and days off she is forced to rely only on herself and her relatives. Under the conditions of the territorial separation of relatives and friends, interneighbor cooperation may prove to be effective. Its individual forms arise spontaneously, but the lack of facilities, equipment, organizers, as well as the corresponding legal basis is hindering their development. Meanwhile, "cooperative" outing groups and children's playrooms with a teacher on duty are conducive to the efficient use by a mother of her nonworking hours and make the leisure of children more valuable. In a number of instances children's groups, which have been set up on a cooperative basis, especially for children 1 to 3 years old, can replace state nurseries.

In our 1979 study the attitude of the population toward public cooperative forms of the organization of daily life and the raising of children was ascertained. It



turned out, in particular, that 28 percent of the respondents having children under the age of three would take part in the organizing of nursery groups on a cooperative basis, 17 percent of the parents of preschool children supported the creation of outing groups during day-time hours, 23 percent--a children's room in the apartment house, which operates during evening hours and days off, 33 percent--the organization of purchases of products in accordance with advance orders. Moreover, the bulk of those surveyed would like to take part in the cooperation of monetary assets for the hiring of training specialists and other workers. At the same time about 15 percent of the parents, primarily with young children (up to 3 years old), are willing to engage personally in the creation of children's groups.

In the USSR Constitution it is noted: "The state encourages the activity of cooperative and other public organizations in all spheres of consumer service" (Article 24). Specific measures are needed in order for domestic cooperatives to become an intermediate link between the family and state forms of service and the raising of children.

The further increase of the well-being of the Soviet people, the implementation of the program of USSR economic and social development for 1981-1985 and special measures of assistance to young families with children will have a beneficial effect on living conditions. However, as our studies showed, with the achievement of a certain level of material security economic factors no longer influence conjugal relations directly. There are no grounds to assume that the increase of the standard of living of the workers of our country in itself will be conducive to the stabilization of the family. Moral and psychological factors: the similarity of the value orientations and aims of spouses (including toward marriage and the family), the aptitude for cooperation, mutual understanding and adaptation, psychological compatibility and so on, are beginning to play a basic role in this process.

Among the objective factors adversely affecting the process of the psychological adaptation of spouses to family life and each other, the workload of the woman in everyday life and the gap in the amount of free time of the husband and wife are of the greatest, although indirect, importance. Therefore, the implementation of measures of assistance to the working woman is of paramount importance not only for the increase of her leisure and the creation of the conditions for creative activity, but also for the stabilization of the family.

The economic and social measures of assistance to families with children and to young couples, which are called for in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, should create favorable objective conditions for the stabilization of the family. However, they will not produce the desired effect, if they are not supplemented by a system of measures on the strengthening of marriage, such as the preparation of young people for family life, the creation of family advice bureaus, the increase of the prestige of the family by the mass media and so on. Such a system is now being established in Moscow. The great interest which the public is showing toward it attests that the need for it has long been ripe, and it can resolve many of the conflicts which decrease the stability and social efficiency of the family. Therefore, the work on strengthening the family also includes those measures of assistance to working women, the development and improvement of personal service, the expansion of the system of children's preschool institutions and the increase of the quality of their operation, which are stipulated in the decisions of the congress and in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Step Up State Aid to Families Having Children."



#### FOOTNOTES

1. In 1976 150 married couples with children of preschool age and in 1977 100 such couples were surveyed; in 1979 388 families with children of young school age were surveyed.
2. In using the term "family stability," we have in mind not its formal preservation, but its successful development, which presumes the cooperation of the spouses, the satisfaction with marriage and each other, a low level of conflict and the successful fulfillment of functions. Thus, for us the concept of an "unstable" family is close to the concept "troubled family."
3. Only the extreme groups--stable and unstable families--are examined in this article.
4. The group of families with an income up to 60 rubles per person is small. In the 1977 study it made up 15 percent of all the families, in the 1979 study--11.9 percent.
5. The data for the RSFSR were analyzed. The information on the wage of both spouses was obtained from 98 divorces cases, in which such data were available.
6. The specific nature of the sample does not make it possible to identify the influence of the lack of living space (living in a dormitory, a private apartment and so on).
7. The satisfaction or dissatisfaction with marriage of a woman determines to a greater extent than that of a man the process of the stabilization (destabilization) of the family, making it easier or harder.
8. Thus, in families which do washing at home 35 percent of the women spend more than 3 hours daily on housework, while in those in which they resort to the services of laundries, 32 percent do so.
9. It is possible to hire a baby sitter through the Zarya firm only for regular work not less than four times a week during day-time hours (but this service is extremely scarce).
10. Similar results were obtained in Leningrad [6].

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRAVDA, 3 March 1981.
2. Yankova, Z. A., Rodzinskaya, I. Yu. and Avanesov, V. S., "Problems of Assessing the Stability of a Marriage," "Stabil'nost' sem'i kak sotsial'naya problema" /Family Stability as a Social Problem/, Moscow, ISI AN SSSR, 1978 (rotaprint).
3. Chuyko, L. V., "Braki i razvody" /Marriages and Divorces/, Moscow, Statistika, 1975.

4. Tiyt, E. A., "Factors Influencing the Stability of Marriage," "Stabil'nost' sem'i kak sotsial'naya problema," Moscow, ISI AN SSSR, 1978.
5. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1978/, Moscow, Statistika, 1979.
6. Ruzhze, V. L., Yeliseyeva, N. N. and Kadibur, G. S., "The Experience of Studying Family Groups," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1976.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

MAN--ROAD--MOTOR VEHICLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 113-117

/Article by Major General of Militia Aleksey Petrovich Nozdryakov, chief of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806/17

## FACTS, COMMENTARIES, NOTES (FROM THE WORKTABLE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST)

### COMMUTING OF THE POPULATION TO WORK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 118-120

/Article by Doctor of Geographic Sciences Professor Fedor Dmitriyevich Zastavnyy, chief of a department of the Council for the Study of the Productive Forces of the Ukrainian SSR of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ One of the urgent problems of the economic and social development of many regions of the country is the commuting of the population to work. The scale of this phenomenon in the Ukraine, especially in large cities, is very large.

The results of a sociological study,<sup>1</sup> which was conducted by us in 1979 jointly with the L'vov Department of the Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, give an idea of the social portrait of commuters and make it possible to identify the factors that influence the intensity of migratory processes and to outline a number of directions of the regulation of the latter.

In the literature devoted to this problem, as a rule, an indicator characterizing the distance from the place of residence to work is used. To be sure, it helps to carry out the corresponding division of the territory into regions depending on the degree of concentration of labor contacts and to substantiate the necessary measures on the improvement of the work of passenger transport, but this is clearly inadequate. The time spent on travelling, in our opinion, is one of the most important criteria of the assessment of the social expedience of commuting to work. Here there should be taken into account not only the fact that the lack of the efficient organization of passenger transportation can increase considerably the losses of time even over short distances, but also the timetable of the suburban electric train or bus, which is inconvenient for some people and does not coincide with the start and end of work, as well as the time needed to get to the station.

According to the data of the study, for one respondent in five more than 4 hours are spent travelling from home to work and back. In all 4.8 percent of those surveyed were in transit more than 6 hours, 13.5 percent--less than 1 hour.<sup>2</sup>

1. We surveyed 6,061 people, of them 3,564 were men and 2,497 were women.
2. The "net" travelling time of the main type of transport, the expenditures on waiting for the latter and the time needed to get from home to the railroad or bus station and from the point of arrival to the place of work are included in this indicator. During the survey the correctness of the answers concerning the length of trips was carefully verified, which in practice eliminates the likelihood of errors.



Among all the participants in the survey 32.1 percent are people from 19 to 25 years old, 34.6 percent--from 26 to 35, 26.6 percent--from 36 to 50 and 6.7 percent--over 50 years old. A definite relationship between age and the expenditures of time was found--the longest trips (more than 4 hours) are made by representatives of the group from 36 to 50 years old (15 percent), among young people and middle-aged workers these indicators are equal respectively to 46.0 and 45.3 percent. Such a distribution, apparently, is not by chance. It is clear that a long trip is tiring, and the older a person is, the more strongly he feels this. As for young people, here, in our opinion, the taken effective measures, which are aimed at the increase of the material well-being and the improvement of sociocultural, trade and personal service of the rural population, have an effect. The mechanization of labor-consuming processes in farming and animal husbandry is promoting an increase of the prestige of labor in agriculture and is increasing the opportunities for a wider choice of occupations, including for young people. Thus, boys and girls are able to find a pursuit to their liking also in rural regions which are located away from large industrial centers.

Among the respondents 2.7 percent had received a higher education, 9.7 percent--a secondary specialized education, 59.1 percent--a secondary education and 28.5 percent--an incomplete secondary education.

Of those who daily go to work in the city, 40.1 percent have a length of service of up to 3 years. With an increase of the length of service the number of commuters decreases.

Of those surveyed, 68.8 percent are married, and more than half of them are young people, 19-30 years old. As a rule, both spouses in such families permanently work at urban enterprises and institutions, while their parents care for the children and take care of the private plot and the household. Among the older age groups the husband usually goes to work in the city, while the wife works at the place of residence.

According to the data of the study, 67.5 percent of the respondents are workers of categories 2-4, including 30.6 percent--category 3 and 20.2 percent--category 2. The proportion of those having higher skills (categories 5 and 6) is relatively low--12.9 percent. Engineering and technical staff members, apprentices and auxiliary workers are also involved in commuting (about 15 percent).

Workers of the mass (2-4) categories make the longest trips--71.8 percent of them are on the road daily more than 3 hours.

Such a situation is quite explicable. On the one hand, enterprises first of all strive to provide skilled specialists with housing closer to the place of work and, on the other, it is economically unfeasible for auxiliary and ancillary workers, who earn less than other workers, to come everyday from remote regions.

Material interest functions here as one of the main factors which regulate the length of trips to cities and which influence the size of the zones of intensive labor contacts.

The scale and nature of commuting also depend on the type of transport. Of all the respondents, 58.9 percent use bus, and about two-thirds spend less than 2 hours on the road.

In connection with the further increase of the material well-being of the workers and the increase of the output of passenger cars, an increase of the role of private transport in daily trips to work should be expected in the future (at present only about 1 percent of those surveyed have their own car). Thus, trips, which are inefficient from the point of view of the expenditures of nonworking time, will become efficient for some commuters.

The elaboration of a set of measures on the resettlement of those who wish to live permanently in the city is one of the directions of the regulation of commuting. Among the latter 62.6 percent spend en route each day less than 1 hour, 73.1 percent--from 1 to 2 hours, 76.6 percent--from 2 to 4 hours, 81.7 percent--from 4 to 6 hours and 85.7 percent--more than 6 hours. The breakdown of those who wish to move to the city subject to the age structure is as follows: up to 30 years old--87 percent, from 31 to 35--71.8 percent, from 36 to 40--63.8 percent, from 41 to 50--58.8 percent and over 50--54.5 percent.

A clearly traceable correlation between the indicator in question and the level of education was found. The proportion of people oriented toward moving among those having a secondary education comes to 80 percent, among those having a higher and incomplete secondary education--respectively 67.9 and 61.2 percent.

The increase of the intensity of commuting to work, which is being observed in many regions of the country, is giving rise to the urgent need to solve the problem of regulating the latter on a statewide scale. It is expedient, apparently, to elaborate a regional comprehensive program of an extensive group of economic and social measures, which are aimed at the elimination of inefficient forms of the commuting processes of the population. Scientifically sound recommendations on the transfer for permanent residence to cities of a certain portion of the commuters, especially those who are forced to make long daily trips, in our opinion, should become an important component of such a program.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

#### THE ATTITUDE OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS TOWARD LABOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 120-122

/Article by Aleksi Tasev, graduate student of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee (Bulgaria)/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### THE COMBINATION OF OCCUPATIONS AT MOTOR TRANSPORT ENTERPRISES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 122-124

/Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Galina Alekseyevna Kononova, docent of the Chair of Motor Transport of the Leningrad Institute of Engineering Economics imeni P. Togliatti/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### ON THE INTRAPLANT TRANSFERS OF THE REGULAR LABOR FORCE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 125-126

/Article by Zhozef Solomonovich Trostanovskiy, senior research associate of the Sectorial Laboratory of Sociological Problems of Labor and Management of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and Alina Nikolayevna Prus, junior research associate of the Sectorial Laboratory of Sociological Problems of Labor and Management of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

##### INCREASING THE RETURN OF QUESTIONNAIRES IN A MAIL SURVEY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 127-133

/Article by Candidate of Psychological Sciences Boris Zusmanovich Doktorov, senior research associate of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### SOME METHODS OF IMPROVING THE MAIL SURVEY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 134-138

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Il'ich Paniotto, senior research associate of the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, and Yuriy Ivanovich Yakovenko, senior engineer of the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### TO THE AID OF THE PLANT SOCIOLOGIST

#### THE USE OF EXPERT EVALUATIONS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 139-146

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Vladimirovich Cherednichenko, chief of a sector of Latgiprobyt/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

#### THE EVOLUTION OF YOUTH SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 147-152

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yevgeniya Stanislavovna Barazgova, senior instructor of the Chair of Historical Materialism of the Ural State University imeni A. M. Gor'kiy/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE FRG

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 153-156

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Tsolakovich Khudaverdyan, senior research associate of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### SOCIOLOGY ABROAD

#### SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 157-161

/Article by V. Gaty/

/Not translated by JPRS/



PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUSTRIAN FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 162-168

/Article by Karine Akopovna Shchadilova, junior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY: MANAGEMENT THEORY AND PRACTICE

MODERN TRENDS IN THE BOURGEOIS SCIENCE OF MANAGEMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 169-172

/Article by Academician Dzhermen Mikhaylovich Gvishiani, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 173-181

/Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Eleonora Dmitriyevna Vil'khovchenko, senior research associate of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

SOCIAL FACTORS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR IN THE TAYLOR SYSTEM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 182-189

/Article by Al'bert Ivanovich Kravchenko, junior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

GENERAL MEETING OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND LAW OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 190-191

/Article/

/Not translated by JPRS/

URAL SOCIOLOGICAL READINGS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 191-193

/Article by L. N. Naumov/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806/17

## DISCUSSION OF THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 194-196

/Article by A. B. Sinel'nikov and L. S. Shilova/

/Text/ At the 26th CPSU Congress special attention was again directed toward the problems of population and the task of conducting an effective demographic policy, which is aimed at the strengthening of the family, state assistance to families having children and to young couples, the creation of more favorable conditions for women to combine motherhood with occupational activity, the improvement of health and the increase of the life expectancy and labor activeness of people, was set.

Let us note that in the field of demography, theory still lags behind the needs of practice, there is no unity of the opinions of specialists in the assessment of the prospects of demographic processes and, hence, in the determination of the short-range and long-range goals of demographic policy.

In this connection the results of the theoretical seminar "The Problem of the Goals of Demographic Policy," which was organized on the basis of the Department of Demography of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, are of definite interest. About 50 specialists of a number of institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other scientific and educational institutions took part in it.

The main theses of the presentation papers of Candidate of Economic Sciences A. G. Vishnevskiy (Department of Demography of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration) and Candidate of Economic Sciences V. A. Borisov (Department of Demography of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences) became the subject of discussion.

A. G. Vishnevskiy distinguishes a special subsystem of society—the demographic subsystem, in which the behavior of the population as a whole meets the objective requirements of the functioning of the system as a whole. In this system the control of demographic processes, the speaker believes, can be regarded as "self-control," which is exercised through demographic relations. The latter are means of internal regulation, which ensure the relative independence of the functioning of the demographic system from external influences. Hence the social function of demographic relations is to provide those parameters of the reproduction of society, which are necessary from the point of view of the long-term existence of the system. Demographic policy is regarded as a superstructure above demographic

relations, which have a mighty influence on demographic behavior. The success of this influence in many ways is determined by its conformity to the objective laws of the functioning and the trends of development of the indicated relations, but it is impossible to reduce it to a set of measures which are aimed at the achievement of some quantitative indicators. A. G. Vishnevskiy opposed the concept of "the demographic optimum," the basic idea of which is the achievement by means of demographic policy of the optimum indicators dictated by the social goals of society. In order to pursue the policy one must know the norms of the functioning of the demographic system, the main goal of which, in his opinion, is not to allow the disturbance of the equilibrium in reproduction by itself. The speaker believes that the time has come when it is necessary not to derive demographic indicators from the socio-economic problems of today, but, on the contrary, to plan economic indicators with allowance made for the change of the demographic situation.

In the report of V. A. Borisov, on the other hand, demographic policy is defined as a component of the overall socio-economic policy of the state, which is aimed directly at the control of demographic processes. They are regulated indirectly by the entire mechanism of the latter. The special distinction of demographic policy from it is necessary where there is a discrepancy between the demographic subsystem and other social subsystems. Both the urgency of arising problems and accordingly the goals and means of demographic policy are determined precisely by the degree of discrepancy. In defining the goals as the planned, anticipated results of measures, the speaker drew special attention to the problem of their conformity to the laws of demographic development. Frequently, he noted, the need for such conformity is exaggerated. Of course, the trends of the spread of the family with few children to a considerable extent depend on objective causes, but this by no means rules out the possibility of an influence aimed at them. The proper assessment of the demographic situation is of greatest importance here. The spread of the family with few children, V. A. Borisov emphasized, is a pronounced discrepancy between the demographic subsystem and the socio-economic subsystems of society. It needs the expanded reproduction of the population, and even if we expect the stabilization of the process of the birth rate at the level of today's indicators, this will not eliminate the threat of depopulation. Hence the primary goal of demographic policy is the convergence of the interests of the family and society in the area of the birth rate. As we see, the realized need is the main criterion when determining the goals.

In discussing the problems raised in the reports, Candidate of Economic Sciences A. G. Volkov (Department of Demography of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration) noted that it is hardly advisable to construct the conception on the basis of the introduction of the concept of self-sufficing "demographic relations." The idea of A. G. Vishnevskiy about maintaining an equilibrium of the structure of the population regardless of "external" influences requires special substantiation. All influences should be regarded here as internal ones, and demographic policy is one of them. The goals of this policy are always the reflection of social goals, and the task of demographic science consists in understanding how the entire set of social relations determines the behavior of people.

While sharing entirely the anxiety of V. A. Borisov about the possibility of depopulation in some regions of the USSR, if the rate of growth of the population henceforth decreases, A. G. Volkov nevertheless did not agree with the assumption



contained in both reports concerning a contradiction between the reproductive behavior of families and the interests of society. Both society and the family are forced at every stage of their development to "strike a balance" between needs and the possibilities of meeting them. The present norms of the number of children reflect the needs of the family for children, which today have been historically established. Hence the task of demographic policy is to create all the conditions for the meeting of this need. The goals of demographic policy, which are aimed at the increase of the standard of living, conform both to the interests of society and to the interests of the family. There is no contradiction here. Moreover, studies have revealed among a significant portion of the families differences between the actual and desired number of children, which attests to the existence of an unmet need for them.

Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Ye. Darskiy (Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration) emphasized that the determination of specific measures of influence on the birth rate, given its still inadequate study, should be approached extremely cautiously, for it is possible to make a mistake in calculating the planned results and even to obtain a negative impact. The study of the experience of foreign countries shows: none of the steps taken here had a scientific basis. There are also no reliable data concerning the fact that precisely the implementation of one measure or another promoted an increase of the birth rate. While expressing his agreement as a whole with the idea of A. G. Vishnevskiy about distinguishing "demographic relations" from the set of social relations, L. Ye. Darskiy noted that the speaker never was able to identify their specific nature.

The thesis of A. G. Vishnevskiy concerning the need to take into account the demographic situation when planning economic indicators in principle is correct, but with the given level of development of the productive forces the conditions still have not formed for the realization of the advanced assumption, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. G. Perevedentsev (Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences) emphasized. The achievement of the optimum parameters of the demographic system should now be considered the main goal of demographic policy, but it is impossible to determine them while remaining only within its framework--it is necessary to direct one's attention to the optimum indicators of socio-economic development.

Summarizing the statements of the main speakers and the results of the discussion, Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor L. L. Rybakovskiy (Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences) noted the mutual understanding which was achieved by the seminar participants. This pertains first of all to the definition of the essence of demographic policy not only as a system of measures of influence on demographic processes, but also as the set of ideas, which are united conceptually into a unified system of measures, by means of which the achievement of the necessary demographic parameters is anticipated. The discussion revealed differences in the assessments of the trends of demographic development, as well as the possibilities of influencing demographic processes. The elaboration of practical recommendations on the realization of the short-range and long-range goals of demographic policy is the primary task of scientists. With respect to these goals two points of view were also identified. According to the first point of view, they arise from the needs of the development of the demographic system itself. The supporters of the second point of view consider them to be the direct consequence of

general social goals, while they make the activeness or passiveness of the mentioned policy dependent on the objectively formed situation. But there is no disagreement on the main thing: the optimum reproductive behavior of the population should be the overall goal here. The social significance not only of the level of the birth rate and death rate, but also of the ratio between generations is great. Precisely the problem of elaborating the optimum indicators of reproductive behavior is most urgent today. In this, as we have seen, the representatives of both concepts are united. L. L. Rybakovskiy expressed the hope that the still existing differences in the stands of the seminar participants will be overcome during subsequent exchanges of views.

7807

CSO: 1806/17

#### URGENT PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 196-198

/Article by B. V. Sazonov/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 198-200

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### REFLECTIONS ON A NEW BOOK

#### SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE FORMATION OF A NEW SCIENTIFIC DISCIPLINE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 201-207

/Review by V. A. Yadov of book "Sotsial'naya psikhologiya" /Social Psychology/ by G. M. Andreyeva, Izdatel'stvo MGU, Moscow, 1980/

/Not translated by JPRS/

#### BOOK REVIEWS

#### SYSTEMS APPROACH IN MARXIST THEORY, METHODOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 208-210

/Review by G. V. Osipov of book "Sistemnost' i obshchestvo" /Systemicity and Society/ by V. G. Afanas'yev, Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 368 pages, and book "Printsip sistemnosti v teorii i metodologii K. Marksa" /The Principle of Systemicity in the Theory and Methodology of K. Marx/ by V. P. Kuz'min, 2d edition, Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 213 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

## SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF RESPECT OF THE LAW

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 210-212

/Review by A. A. Blagorazumnyy, N. Ya. Zablotskis and V. F. Statkus of book "Lichnost' i uvazheniye k zakonu. Sotsiologicheskiy aspekt" /The Individual and Respect of the Law. The Sociological Aspect/, V. N. Kudryavtsev, V. P. Kazimirchuk, editors in chief, Nauka, Moscow, 1979, 285 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

## WAY OF LIFE OF TIRASPOL' GARMENT WORKERS DESCRIBED

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 213- 214

/Review by G. M. Vokhmentsova and N. N. Malikova of book "Vse o nas i nashem kollektive. Kontseptsiya, metody i rezul'taty diagnostiki obraza zhizni tiraspol'skikh shveytnikov" /Everything About Us and Our Collective. The Concept, Methods and Results of the Diagnosis of the Way of Life of Tiraspol' Garment Workers/ by V. Solov'yeva, M. Kashina and V. Chichilimov, Kartya Moldavenyaske, Kishinev, 1980, 375 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

## SOCIOLOGY OF ORGANIZATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 214-219

/Reviews by N. A. Kurtikov and L. N. Suvorov of book "Sotsiologiya organizatsiy" /The Sociology of Organizations/ by A. I. Prigozhin, Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 257 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

## PSYCHOLOGY OF VERBAL COMMUNICATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 220-221

/Review by G. S. Semenov of book "Yazyk i sotsial'naya psikhologiya" /Language and Social Psychology/ by T. M. Dridze, Vysshaya shkola, Moscow, 1980, 224 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

## REDISCOVERY OF MARXISM BY BOURGEOIS THEORETICAL THOUGHT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 221-224

/Review by G. K. Ashin and A. P. Milder of book "'Neomarksizm' i problemy sotsiologii kul'tury" /"Neomarxism" and Problems of the Sociology of Culture/ by Yu. N. Davydov, O. S. Li, S. M. Mitina and A. I. Chuprynin, Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 352 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/



## STATISTICAL METHODS OF INFORMATION ANALYSIS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 224-225

/Review by B. Z. Doktorov of book "Statisticheskiye metody analiza informatsii v sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy" /Statistical Methods of Information Analysis in Sociological Research/, G. V. Osipov, editor in chief, Nauka, Moscow, 1979, 319 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

## SYSTEMS ANALYSIS OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 225-226

/Review by N. M. Blinov and V. A. Ponomarchuk of book "Sistemnyy analiz sotsiologicheskoy informatsii" /Systems Analysis of Sociological Information/ by V. I. Molchanov, Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 142 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

## BOOKSHELF OF THE SOCIOLOGIST

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 81 pp 227-228

/Annotations of new books/

/Not translated by JPRS/

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", "Sotsiologicheskkiye issledovaniya", 1981

7807

CSO: 1806/17

-END-

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

25 Sept. 1981